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THE
CASE OF WHISKEY
—
GEORGE COES HOWELL



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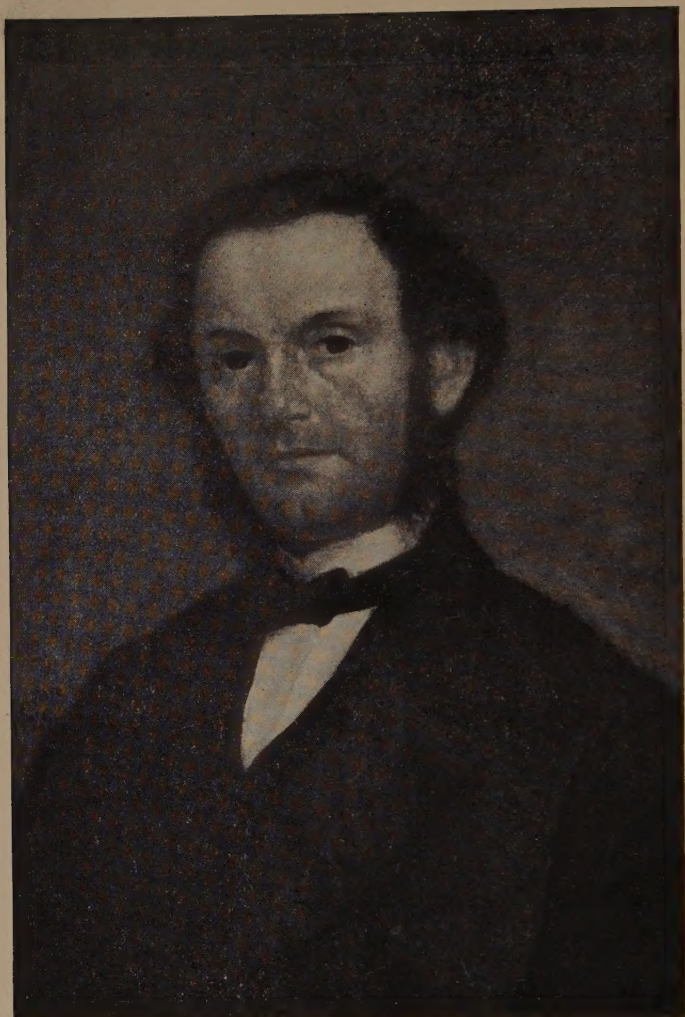
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THE CASE OF WHISKEY



SAMUEL STREIT

From a photograph by Claude S. Turner, Pasadena, California, of a portrait painted in 1869, by WYATT EATON.

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THE CASE OF WHISKEY

BY
GEORGE COES HOWELL



GEORGE COES HOWELL
ALTADENA, CALIFORNIA

1928

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GEORGE COES HOWELL

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TO
SAMUEL STREIT
1827-1918
MY MENTOR
IN THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

THAN whom no young man had a better one, for that early training in good business knowledge, honesty, and square dealing which is so necessary in the conduct of all respectable and legitimate commercial pursuits.

He himself first entered the liquor business in Troy, New York, at the age of eighteen. He founded Samuel Streit & Co., New York City, 1856, in which his interest continued until his death at Palm Beach, Florida, 1918, at the age of ninety-one.

Known as the "Nestor of the New York Trade in Spirits"—in business he was square in his dealing, and he expected a square deal in return.

An out-of-door's man, a great fisherman, a good sportsman, he loved nature and he knew human nature to be good rather than bad; he dealt with the good where he could; he preferred not to have any dealings with the bad. He was loved by his friends and respected even by his enemies, of both which he had some of whom he might well have been proud. I am thankful that his death occurred before he experienced Prohibition.

To the Spirit of Samuel Streit this book is dedicated in respectful acknowledgment of his help and long interest in my own business career

By
THE AUTHOR

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FOREWORD

The perfect historian is he in whose work the character and spirit of the age is exhibited in miniature. He relates no facts, he attributes no expression to his characters, which is not authenticated by sufficient testimony. Men will not merely be described but will be made intimately known to us.

—MACAULEY.

AS a means towards creating the wave of fanatical emotion which rendered possible the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the various Methodist bodies of the United States flung to the winds every curb of decency, truth, and justice, and vilified with a venom and savagery previously unknown in religio-political controversy everything and everybody in America connected with the sale and production of beer, wine, and spirits.

They attacked impartially all institutions and individuals connected with the industry, and maliciously concealed that, in many respects and in countless instances, the charges they preferred were not only baseless but profoundly injurious to innocent people.

Inspired by the fanatical belief that the end justified the means, they spared none. On the eve of a presidential campaign, in which the results of prohibition have been made an issue, they have returned to the attack. It is timely and opportune that those who have suffered, have had the businesses of a lifetime destroyed without com-

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pensation, and have compulsorily retired from business, should take some steps toward refuting the charges that have been aimed at the ruin of their character, both by justifying themselves and by ascertaining the standing, repute, origin, and putative motives of their vilifiers.

The "case of whiskey" is now a historical subject, and it is the intention here to treat it as such.

In dealing with difficult problems of present interest, we must turn to the pages of history for light on similar problems in the past, in order to prevent the recurrence of mistakes which have led to grave situations recurring in our own day. The obvious value of historical research increases in its pursuit as it becomes apparent that though times and surroundings, living conditions and political methods, have changed, human nature remains much the same throughout the ages.

With prohibition as we know it today, I shall not have much to do. The daily, weekly, and monthly press has already published more on all sides of this question than the public has been able to digest. My interest in the "Case of Whiskey," historically considered, is with its spiritual significance—the spiritual treatment it has received by the leaders of the Methodist Church, and its treatment as potable spirit by the so-called liquor traffic.

I do not intend to discuss at any length the history of the scrapping of billions of capital invested in the Case of Whiskey.¹ However, as the men who were responsible for the hysteria that led to this result, and their spiritual heirs, are now making a concerted effort to obtain the place of first influence in the legislation of the national

¹ Hereafter I shall use the term without quotation marks.

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government, it is well to make a study of them, to see if their practical and intellectual mentalities warrant the leadership which their noise and persistence, backed by unceasing labors, seem to be winning for them in large sections of the country.

The characters of the leaders of the pre-Volstead liquor traffic may not be of such general interest, though these men would compare most favorably, by almost any standard, with the type of prohibitionist who has always said he "would rather see his children dead than that the first drop of liquor should pass their lips," and now hires young men and women, sons and daughters of other American parents, to go about drinking illicit liquor, that they may produce "evidence." However, a brief historical review of some of the leading men, formerly interested in the production of beverage liquors, and especially a backward look at the quality of what they produced, cannot but be of interest to many of our people today. Certainly those who have been termed the "drinkers of drams" will want to "read it and weep."

The religious issue and those who made it, were responsible for murdering the character of those who were connected with the liquor traffic. Later, while still religious, but camouflaged as a political issue, the same men and organizations were responsible for the destruction of the traffic itself, with the immense amount of loss entailed. We still have Prohibition with us as a political issue, upheld by the same intolerant and fanatical spirit which has always been in evidence.

As a political issue, prohibition is now once more in the open, and as a political issue every American citizen has the right to discuss it with its leaders, and in doing

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so to disregard that atmosphere of especial holiness and sanctity in which they have hitherto enveloped themselves as a protection against any logical discussion of their purposes, or of the methods they use to accomplish them. It will be my endeavor to analyze the authenticated historical characters of these leaders, so that the reader may form his own conclusions as to whether the degree of holiness and sanctity which they claimed, and their followers still claim for them, was not largely hypocrisy, and whether it gave them the right to vilify the characters of those whose views were not parallel with their own.

It might be well in considering the characters connected with the religious treatment of our case in the past, to decide whether they were men of such calibre that we should safely follow them in all matters, willingly and blindly. If we conclude that they were not big enough men to guide the destiny of this great nation, and that their successors are no more dependable, then we must consider how to prevent them from further forcing their opinions upon us, as they are now planning to do.

The most difficult problem facing the great secular and business organizations of the country today is to find men of mentality and character to lead them. The men capable of managing great organizations so that immense capital is safeguarded, production maintained both as to quantity and quality, pace kept with rapidly advancing demands, and wide distribution sustained, are evolved by the needs of these systems, and are not chosen because they themselves feel "the call" to lead. In passing it might be well to stop and think of the intellectual measure of the men selected to head these great secular organizations, and their perfected methods for caring for

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our physical needs, as compared with the leaders of that special religious organization which considers itself entirely capable of taking care of all of our spiritual needs. It is most important to bear constantly in mind that these same men are now endeavoring to control our political government, in order to gain power which may be used to dictate as to our mental and physical requirements and allowances. It is interesting to speculate as to how much spirituality will survive their soiled political methods of fighting for this power.

I have tried, though I freely admit bias, to present honestly the historical facts concerning the early leaders of this church, their religious character, honesty, and "spirituality." I have used only encyclopedic and incontestably authoritative historical sources, and I have mentioned only such few conclusions of my own as I hope will be considered justifiable from the facts, leaving the reader, for the most part, to draw his own.

Most of us, who were formerly in the liquor business as producers or importers are too old to have any desire to try to rebuild our wrecked trade, but we are probably more interested in the distressing results of the attempted prohibition than most people. We take considerable solace in comparing the quality of the production of our active days with the quality of liquor which is now being used in greater quantities than it was in the days when stuff fit to drink was obtainable. We are too old, too comfortably retired to care to build up this ruined business, for ourselves or for posterity; and our personal concern in the present campaign is the defense of our characters from the attacks of "spiritual" zealots, and of our desire for personal liberty, once guaranteed under

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our constitution, that we may drink civilized drinks in a civilized fashion. I am not breaking the law, and neither are members of the old liquor traffic that I know doing so.

Speaking without authority, and only as a member of that organization of distillers and sellers which fought intolerance, without (I may say) much help from you "drinkers of drams," I know that we of the traffic all recognized the hypocrisy arrayed against us from the first of the battle. Literally thousands of voters who wanted prohibition—for the other fellow only—helped to bring about the present state of affairs. I for one, and I believe I am speaking for most of us, have been sitting back, watching the melodramatic farce of enforcement during the last decade, together with the hypocrisy it has brought out in nearly every walk of life. I have found this spectacle impressive, and I also admit interest joined with a certain degree of equanimity, not only in the quality of drams you are all drinking, and the ridiculous prices you are paying, but even more in the invective that is now being hurled at you "unpatriotic" and "traitorous" drinkers. I suppress my chuckles but am human, and I ask: "How do you like it?"

My reasons then for writing this book are several. In all the miles of type that have been set up anent the liquor question, there has been so far as I know, no defense of the good solid American citizens who made, imported, or sold good wines and liquors, nor any paean sung to the quality of the products they supplied. In the name of these men I wish to protest the hypocrisy, intolerance, and vilification from which they have suffered, saying little of the financial losses.

I wish to leave it to the reader to compare the qualities

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of the men who built up these huge industries with the leaders of that religious organization which has done most to destroy the industries, striven to destroy the reputations of the men, deprived the American of personal liberty, the corner stone of our government, and made hypocrites of so many thousands of our formerly law-abiding citizens that a whole generation is growing up to hold all law in contempt.

There was no member of the liquor traffic of pre-prohibition days whom I knew who was not as anxious to stem the abuse of alcohol as is the most devoted churchman. Decent use, and not abuse, was and is their desire for themselves and for their country, and I have taken opportunity in this volume to give ideas on constructive education now prevalent among these retired men, which would lead to a common-sense way out of our present "predicament"* which (they believe) would help in the future to educate each child to be "the master of his soul" and incidentally of his appetite.

Probably the strongest reason which has led to this writing, however, is the deep impression made upon me by the language of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, when he advised that everyone tell every one else what he thought wrong in him, "and that plainly, else it will fester in your heart. Make all haste to cast the fire out of your bosom."

So I am telling the Methodists, et al. At least I like to think that I am telling them.

G. C. H.

* Walter Lippman, Editor N. Y. *World*, in his *Forum* article.

THE CASE OF WHISKEY.

CHAPTER I

HYPOCRISY

VINDICTIVE and vituperative expression of uneducated opinion was the chief weapon used by leaders of the prohibition forces within the Methodist Episcopal Church in the long fight with the liquor traffic both before and after its organization.

"You're a liar!—You're another!—You be damned!" have been quoted by a noted American editorial writer as the three retorts that are used as arguments in present day controversy; and this was much the method of the Methodists in trying to prove that the use of good liquor was an evil, except that they implied that any one, however slightly connected with the traffic, was already completely damned, relieving them of the necessity of wishing more curses upon us.

George Bernard Shaw, who himself wields a bitter pen in matters controversial, says that the way to get at the merits of any case is to "argue it with reckless bias, for and against." In the early days of the liquor war this was certainly the style employed by both sides, but we of the liquor traffic shouted in vain, our weapons turned aside by the shield of hypocrisy that guarded the Methodist leaders in their battle against the "demon rum." Our opponents were especially vociferous against our

right to organize in our own defense, or to reply to the accusations of the reverend ones. This attitude was the more noticeable in the less ignorant of the leaders, to whom "a little knowledge" had failed to bring any degree of open-mindedness or tolerance.

The unfairness of the contest was always obvious to all who cared to look with unbiased eyes. We of the liquor traffic were pilloried from the pulpit, which we were not allowed to enter; though many of those who climbed the pulpit steps for the privilege of calling us unpleasant names were not ordained preachers, and it was not because we were not "of the cloth" that we were barred from that arena.

Particularly were we galled by the questionable assumption of that greater degree of holiness which gave Methodists and their hired lecturers the right to vilify our characters, while depriving us of the right to reply. The word "liar" was frequently hurled by each side in the controversy, but when used by us it was always a dud against their professed sanctity, and we finally realized the tactical error of using the word at all, regardless of the fact that it was justified every time a follower of Wesley and Asbury spoke of us or our trade.

Exactly the same language was used on both sides of the disputation, as they presented their arguments with "reckless bias." However when it was used by the anti-liquor crusaders from their pulpits and rostrums it was considered holy language used in the cause of truth to detail our unmitigated wickedness and announce our incontrovertible doom both here and hereafter. When we used identical expressions they were "vile profanity."

Hypocrisy has cropped up all through the fight, and

since the passing of the prohibition laws has spread through the entire fabric of our daily lives to an extent that makes it immeasurable. Innumerable instances can be pointed out. The congressional sub-committee hearings held in April, 1926, on certain bills to amend the prohibition acts are most enlightening in this respect. The reports of these hearings give very clear directions as to how liquors may be made in the home, at the same time giving the warning that drinking the illicit spirits of the private still is highly dangerous.

In some spots this national hypocrisy has its amusing angles. The fact that we were selling "poison" to the multitude is one of the staple cries, but even the prohibition law was forced to make certain allowances, however inadequate, for the use of that "poison" for "medicinal purposes."

What did we see happen in the various state campaigns? A state went dry, and we liquor dealers handling good sound liquor in a legal way, (a way, incidentally quite remunerative to the government) saw as the only apparent result in dry states the change from the saloon or grocer source of supply of good liquor at reasonable prices, to the drug store source. Drug store liquors were of poorer quality and higher price, and included hundreds of alcoholic compounds, "patent medicines."

It is instructive to note that religious magazines and papers were the foremost media for advertising these disguised inebriants, and that long after all the decent daily papers had outlawed patent medicine advertising, the holier-than-thou papers retained them as a chief source of income. It was not until pure food legislation

required the exposure of alcoholic content that these papers were forced to give up this easy money, and teetotalers the pleasure of imbibing large quantities of low-grade alcohol while shouting prohibition.

Preparedness was another hypocritical argument that helped push prohibition down our throats, and yet the prohibition fanatics of today are almost without exception pacifists, not believing in military preparedness at all. Just another of their "end-justifies-the-means" slogans, which helped to force prohibition into our constitution at a time when our country had just entered a war for which, thanks to them, we were totally unprepared.

We liquor dealers did not believe that the amendment had any place in our constitution, religiously or morally, or any other way. Assuming for the moment that we consider the use of beverage alcohol as immoral (which we do not), why legislate against it in the Constitution? I think even the most bigoted Methodist will admit that murder is more immoral than drinking, or even selling "rum," but we have not as yet a constitutional amendment against murder. Why not, if our constitution is to become our criminal code?

We did not believe at the time that the majority of American citizens considered that such an amendment belonged in the constitution, nor that three-quarters of them would put it there, nor do we believe it now. Prohibition was made a religious and moral issue, and hundreds of thousands voted for it, somehow expecting to be excepted from those suffering as a result, because the constant hammering of the Methodists had made each of them feel responsible for his weaker brother. "Wherefore, if meat maketh my brother to offend, I will eat no

flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend" (I Corinthians, viii:13), was the principle on which they voted; but they did not mean it. This is the crowning hypocrisy for which all of us and our children are paying now.

We were happy to perceive that President Wilson had the intelligence to see through this emotionalism and hypocrisy, and veto the Volstead bill, even if the astute political "methods of Methodism" had gained the whip hand in Washington, and that veto was overruled.

Though hypocrisy has prevailed all through the "dry fight," it is even more easily uncovered in the state legislation on the prohibition subject, which spread over so many years before national prohibition, than it was during the final bitter battle. State prohibition laws were always framed to rest lightly on the "secret drinkers," the class that invariably has been more or less scattered and concealed throughout the farming country, the small towns, and in the suburban districts. In the cities there has always been much less hypocritical drinking, until the passing of national prohibition put nearly all indulgence in stimulants into that category and made more speakeasies than there were formerly licensed saloons.

Professor Irving Fisher, "published" author of the most recent text-book of the Anti-Saloon League, to which I will refer later, has lived in New Haven, Connecticut, nearly all of his life. He knows, as everyone living in New England has known, the conspicuous hypocrisy of State enforcement in Maine, the oldest example of State prohibition legislation. Professor Fisher's opening statement in his preface, "This book is the

outgrowth of my testimony at the hearings of the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate," is an adequate reason why the state of Maine could no longer be used as an example of beneficent and successful state legislation enforcement. Hudson Maxim's testimony, at those same hearings, of the deplorable conditions in Maine made such use impossible. Leaving Maine strictly alone and saying that "we cautious Easterners have much to learn from the venturesome West," Professor Fisher uses Kansas as the oldest and most outstanding example of successful state legislation; and seconds Kansas with Washington state, probably because of its distance from New Haven, as another shining example of the benefits derived from such legislation.

In the Corradini statistics and the Fisher charts based on those "statistics," the text-book uses 1916 as the starting point of federal prohibition enforcement. The state of Washington did not go dry until after 1916, the correct date for the start of federal prohibition was 1919. But allowing Prof. Fisher and Mr. Corradini either date they prefer, there was hardly time for anyone but a New England prohibitionist to note any lasting results from the legislation. The people on the West Coast know that the results claimed for Washington prohibition, whether one chooses to call it state or federal, have never been for a single week the results reported in this book, but directly the opposite. Smuggled liquor was always much in use in Washington, and since national prohibition has been so nobly enforced, the entire Pacific slope gets its main supply of liquor from Canada, mostly brought in by the shipload by water and the carload by rail through Wash-

ington. This last has become such a scandal that a federal investigation has recently been made of the state's enforcement of prohibition.

It was after Maine had been "dry" for nearly fifty years that Kansas became a prohibition state. We find in the 1890's "the principle was well established in the state, though in the large cities anti-liquor laws were not zealously enforced" (*New International Encyclopedia*; "Kansas"). The country districts of Kansas were notorious for being the largest consumers in the United States of fake medicines containing large percentages of alcohol. The prevalence of the secret drinkers was the reason for the quatrain which was so widely printed at the time of the Kansas election.

Good-bye, little saloon, good-bye,
Don't you cry
For you'll be a drug store
Bye and bye.

Kansas is one of the states that has gone back from such a dry stand as it had before national prohibition took effect. Reverend F. Ernest Johnson is authority for the statement that the alcoholic death-rate in Kansas has actually increased under national prohibition. That liquor can be procured easily by the youth of the state is shown by a news item published in 1927 which said: "The official wrath of Kansas authorities was visited on the head of Stanton Clifford when he said, during the collegiate debate, that he could procure liquor any time in Kansas." Another news item, dated September 17, 1927, quotes Federal Judge John C. Pollock of the district of Kansas as saying: "We not only have concrete evidence right

before our eyes that the Volstead law is destructive, but we can turn back the pages of history and observe what happened to other countries."

In the "dry South" nearly all the state prohibition laws permitted liberal quantities of liquor to be consumed in the homes of the white citizens. When Hobson was flying high, politically, in his native state of Alabama, and made his first effort to procure Underwood's senatorial seat at Washington on a straight-out prohibition plank, he was responsible for the bone-dry bill which was presented at first to the legislature that year, 1915. This bill caused such consternation in the minds of the more practical political leaders of the Anti-Saloon League that their representative was hurried to Montgomery and he expostulated so earnestly with the drys of Alabama that the original bill was changed to permit an allowance amounting to twelve gallons a year for each white citizen to use in his home. Hobson was defeated by Underwood, showing the state's response to bone-dry propaganda, but the Anti-Saloon League bill was passed and Alabama went into the Anti-Saloon League list of prohibition states.

The hypocrisy of the various state laws was no secret to us of the liquor traffic. An example from which we drew much acrid amusement also comes from the "venturesome West." Iowa, which followed Kansas into the prohibition column, after a short experience of attempting actual enforcement, passed the infamous Mulct Law in 1894 and kept it on the statute books until 1915. Probably the most hypocritical law ever passed by any state for any purpose, the Mulct law provided that any liquor dealer operating in Iowa in violation of the prohibition

law could be prosecuted only a limited number of times, usually once, and fined only up to a certain limit, a sum amounting to a fair license fee. This was the Iowa way of keeping itself listed as a prohibition state.

Such conditions as the foregoing, under state prohibition, were even better known to the Methodist-directed Anti-Saloon League than to the liquor traffic, as the League was mainly responsible for the passage of all of the state laws. Nevertheless they claim in their "year-books" that which was often claimed by their speakers, such as William Jennings Bryan, from the pulpits and platforms of the country, that ninety-five per cent of the area of the country was dry, and sixty-eight per cent of the population lived in dry territory. They knew better than anyone else the misinformation contained in this statement. The correct figures, brought out at the hearings, showed that in thirty-six states of the forty-eight, containing 88.2 of the population, and 455 out of the 531 electoral votes, intoxicants were allowed in some hypocritical manner, as in Maine, in Alabama, and in Iowa; while the remaining twelve states, containing 11.8 per cent of the population and seventy-six of the electoral votes were bone-dry, though spirits were legally obtained from drug stores for medicinal use, and *this medicinal use was encouraged under State laws rather than restricted, as it now is under national enforcement*. Senator Edge of New Jersey stated at the "hearings": "Perhaps one of the most indefensible provisions of the Volstead Act, as is, is the determination of Congress to write prescriptions for the medical fraternity of the country."

Hypocrisy is the answer to the question as to why enforcement of state prohibition in the past has always

been so easy in certain states which were used as shining examples of successful enforcement and law-abiding citizenship. It was because the state prohibition laws were always so drawn that there was no interference with the quiet drinkers, and these were the majority of drinkers in those states. It is also understandable why enforcement has always been more difficult in the cities and those states of the largest urban population, and how that difficulty always increased under state enforcement in direct ratio to the increase of the urban population.

The quiet drinker in the city was not neglected by the Eighteenth Amendment, but his legal supply was greatly curtailed by the stringency of the Volstead enforcement act, and is now cut down still farther both by restriction on permits issued and by the drug store price for filling prescriptions. The quiet drinker of the country districts, however, is still protected by the special cider regulations of the enforcement act, and the Grange representative at the hearings insisted that these privileges should be continued, testifying "We record our disapproval of any plan to modify the law in any way." In his cross examination, though this discrimination was plainly shown to him, he was determined that it should be continued. Senator Edge emphasized the discrimination against the city worker, when he said:—"No one can possibly or successfully defend such a glaring discrimination. The farmer with his grapes or apples can legally go the limit. The industrial worker with his beer can go to jail" (Senate Hearings).

The polish on the escutcheons of the "shining example" states is dimmed not only by hypocrisy and discrimination of this sort, but Senator Bruce (Senate

Hearings) gave testimony to the effect that seizures of illicit distilleries, stills, still worms, and fermenters rose from 14,000 in 1920 to 172,537 in 1925, and that 70 per cent of those seizures were made in the dry Southern States. In 1927 these seizures had increased to 208,073. That is quite a bit of verdigris to wipe off any shining example.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL INTOLERANCE AND FANATICISM

HUMANITY has never been perfect. Fanaticism and intolerance are human traits that have always been more or less in evidence, and have been dominant in those periods when religious bodies have had the greatest control.

Organization for mutual benefit was the beginning of civilization as we know it, and the earliest organizations were nearly always of a religious nature. Social and political co-operation began somewhat later and was usually the outgrowth of some religious or (as one might call it in its earliest forms) superstitious movement. Whether conceived in religion or not, they had, broadly speaking, their inception in the desire to better social conditions. Unfortunately the commendable intention was frequently frustrated. Enthusiasm for a cause readily grew into fanaticism, and with fanaticism in control the organizations became a menace rather than a benefit to the world. They generally ended "in the determination to coerce mankind to their own fanatical beliefs."

In the earliest history, derived from inscriptions, we learn that religion was generally pagan, and in view of the almost total ignorance of the natural laws of cause and effect was characterized by a fear of the unknown.

Human fear predominated over human thankfulness in spite of the fact that the worship of the gods who wrought evil was about equally shared by those who were expected to be helpful. These early religions were almost entirely emotional, and the chief emotion was fear. This being so, the authoritative rule by leaders, slightly more intelligent than the masses, fanatical and aided by hypocrisy, was practically unquestioned. When a priest convinced his followers that he communed with the gods his rule was supreme so long as that conviction was held.

The problem before us today is to decide whether our self-appointed mentors, the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are in closer communion with God than we are, and if we can afford to follow them as blindly as the pagans did their priests.

Throughout the whole history of the human race religion has made use of force in the gradual attainment of what we know as civilization, and wherever religion has guided force, fanatical cruelty has abounded to a more marked degree than when no religious element was involved. This has been true, not only in the actual fighting but in the treatment and government of conquered peoples.

In spite of this fanatical cruelty, however, once such an organization has imposed its will upon a nation, it has been likely to temper the use of force to such an extent that a more refined civilization has resulted, but a defenseless one. History brings out the fact that whenever the government of any national has placed too much reliance on religion as a governing and protecting force, preparedness for defense has been lessened, and that nation has suffered therefrom. There have been frequent

instances where nations have been entirely extinguished for this reason alone.

To go back to the ancient religious history of our own race, the Druids may be used as an example of an organization conceived in religion, whose priests came to rule its people completely. Cæsar gives us a concise picture* of this organization as well as of its leaders as the Roman legions found them ruling over our own pagan Celtic ancestors in ancient Gaul, Britain, and Ireland. He was greatly impressed with the Celtic fighting ability, much of which he incorporated into his own legions, but he thought little of that religious government's preparedness against invasion.

The Druid priests prophesied good and evil, led in the worship of gods both kindly and fearful, and meted out punishment, which they claimed the gods had decreed for disobedience. They also cast out minor devils. Because of their intimate acquaintance with both gods and devils they ruled our ignorant ancestors with an iron hand. It is not difficult to trace the analogy between the edicts of these fanatics and some of the equally dogmatic ones set forth by leaders of modern Christianity, who also play on the ignorance and emotionalism of their followers to change our own Constitution.

New York Times, June 6, 1928, quotes John W. Davis—under the heading—"John W. Davis sees threats to Liberty." In his speech over the radio he said: "So convinced were they of the righteousness of their program and the desirability of their goal, that they are willing and eager to brush aside every obstacle—no

* See Article "Druids" in *New International Encyclopedia*.

matter how sacred—that stands in their way. The self-seeker and the hot reformer are sapping and mining the Constitution today as they have always done. We may have cause yet to be grateful for the Bill of Rights.”

Fortunately for the progress of the world there is no comparison in the percentage of attendance at religious rites. Attendance was compulsory at the pagan solemnities, and was presumably one hundred per cent. The voluntary attendance at religious service has been gradually declining with the rise of mass intelligence. One wonders how large a part of this is due to the fanaticism and intolerance of the leaders. It cannot be because of the failure of Christianity itself, which appeals deeply to hundreds of thousands of people who do not care to align themselves with the churches of today. I believe that intolerance from the pulpits has had much to do with the falling off in church-going. Emotional and fanatical preaching which ignores the increase in intelligence, which has so generally taken place, has alienated enormous numbers of deeply religious people from the churches. This intolerance reached its highest pitch during the final battles that led to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, when paid propagandists, some of them with no authority to preach, several of whom have since received penitentiary sentences, were allowed to rant from the pulpits of the Methodist and other churches.

I do not wish to imply that intolerance is confined to the churches. There have been many purely political organizations that had no foundation in religion which have developed this unlovely trait. There have been labor combines with political tendencies whose leaders pro-

moted the idea that to make the poor richer it was necessary to make the rich poorer, and they carried this idea to the point of fanaticism. Labor leaders of today, however, are better grounded in economics, and are learning the fallacy of that belief, and we even have a few political leaders who are learning the value of open-mindedness.

The Socialists will serve as an example of the non-religious political organization founded with the idea of bettering social and economic conditions. The socialists could not rightly be considered dangerous, nor even objectionable, as long as they worked in the open to secure their ideas of improvement. That socialistic ideals in this country are not antagonistic to American institutions is proved by a socialist representative in Congress, who has, throughout his long representation of his Wisconsin constituency, demonstrated that his own ideals include absolute obedience to law.

On the other hand anarchism is the best example of the menace to society of a purely political organization where fanaticism has been permitted to get control. The original anarchists were theorists who believed that they could accomplish by discussion the most perfect social order conceivable. As they increased in number, and their meetings were held in secret, intolerance and fanaticism overwhelmed the discussions, and violent speech brought on acts of violence. The result of ignorant mobs following this type of fanatical leader attracted by the promise of a Utopia, is seen in Russia today.

In this same way we in this country are suffering from the results of having followed fanatical leaders in the matter of trying out prohibition by law. Having been promised a Utopia, wherein drunkenness was to be

unknown and crime rare, we look about us to see that temperance is a forgotten virtue, and crime so prevalent that it is more difficult to find the person who is not offending some law than it used to be to catch a real criminal. Not only is practically every one guilty of some minor infraction of the law, but crimes of violence are more prevalent than they have ever been in any country at any time since there were laws to break.

We do not have to go back in history for examples of oppression due to fanatical political zeal. In modern Russia we have proof of the threat to civilization which occurs when ignorant emotionalism is directed by brilliant fanatics. While at home, though we have no evidence of brilliancy, but only of the acumen necessary to make use of political chicanery and endless publicity, we do have daily reminders of religio-political fanaticism.

The Ku Klux Klan is an organization which was in no way religious in the beginning. The reason for its inception is now a matter of history, but of so late a historical period that many of our citizens of advanced age have a personal knowledge of those political conditions which the fanatical abolition leaders at Washington imposed upon the defeated soldiers of the Southern Confederacy, after they returned to their homes, which caused the organization of the original K. K. K. I have no space to describe those conditions here, which were caused by fanatical hate making forgiveness impossible at that time, the evil results, however, are still present and are easily recognized. I hope that those of my readers of the younger generation who do not know will take a little time to read up on that historical period. They will learn that the bitterness engendered by reconstruction was far

deeper than that of the whole fighting period. I may mention them again but with little elaboration. Perhaps, however, an investigation which has just been started into the present day activities of the Ku Klux Klan will make such historical reading unnecessary.

We have learned, we old members of that now defunct Wholesale Liquor Dealers organization which we organized to fight against the destruction of our business, which having been destroyed is now disbanded. We found the Klan, then newly re-organized, was being used by the Anti-Saloon League political managers to fight against us in their campaigns to gain control of the legislatures of the Southern states. That Klan as reorganized was entirely different both in membership and in purpose from the original K. K. K. Since that time its baleful influence has spread all over this country and has grown to be a menace to political freedom in certain sections of our country. Let us hope that the American people may know it and learn its purposes and what people are behind this organization which has spread so rapidly, and that they may learn why it is so especially powerful in those special districts not only in the South, but in the North, East, and West.

Our gravest danger today is that the large majority of our voters, occupied with minding each his own business, shall, by this laissez-faire attitude toward public issues, give over the reins of our government to the clamorous minority of fanatics who have organized to mind the other man's business.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE

NEVER before in the history of the republic was any class of citizens subjected to such public abuse and vilification as were those who were connected, as I was, with the then legal and legitimate industry that involved the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

Our assailants and calumniators were the preachers and propagandists of the evangelical denominations. From their pulpits they poured torrents of verbal malignancies upon the heads of those affiliated with our business. So vehement and venomous were these outpourings, and so convinced were the more ignorant millions of their followers that every word uttered from the pulpit must be true, that the very name "liquor traffic" was understood to be accursed, and association therewith stigmatized, as with the brand of criminality, taking in even the unfortunate children who had been born into that class, and who had the pitiable misfortune of having to attend school where the offspring of Christian enthusiasts of the evangelical churches were predominant, or where the teachers were of the evangelical set.

These doubtlessly sincere and earnest fanatics, where they failed to ruffle the parents whose calling they denounced as accursed, were able to and did vent their spleen upon the children, and sought to inflame those

children with contempt, if not hatred, of their parents—all for the glory of God!

I am not so foolish as to try to belittle in any way the true worship of God. I hope I am a true worshipper myself. Mature understanding of the wonders of this world's creation has only strengthened the belief in God in which I was reared. I earnestly believe in the value of any form of religion that teaches godliness by persuasion, but not in any type that bases its strength on an appeal to the emotions and ignores the intellect. Especially do I deny that a church which permits its teachers and preachers to use execration of antagonists as proof of the truth of their own contentions has any spiritual worth, or is of aid in the advancement of civilization.

This class of preachers has for years lambasted a personal devil with fearless tongue-lashings, and the devil has never appeared personally to retort, so they set themselves up a new devil, "demon rum." "Demon Rum" also ignored their religious zeal, and, growing bolder, they incarnated the devil in the human forms of all engaged in the liquor traffic, and naturally these human victims resented this classification.

History shows us that the majority of religious teachers have been a grade above the average of their respective periods in education and intelligence. In these days of general education one could hardly substantiate such a statement. History can point to occasions when the race has been morally benefited by religious instruction, and even to instances where it has gained material advantage through laws which have been secured by religious persuasion. But there are at least an equal number of instances where, actuated by intolerance, religious

interference with law has caused nothing but trouble, and sometimes calamity. It is a demonstrable fact that the more intolerant and fanatical preachers have belonged to those religious sects which drew upon the most ignorant classes, both for their laymen and their clergy.

Speaking as a Protestant, as well as a former liquor dealer, I want to say that it was the Protestants of the evangelical denominations, and not the Roman Catholics, who launched the attacks on the liquor traffic, which were begun and continued with increasing bitterness by the leaders of that denomination which contains the largest percentage of partially educated preachers, and exhorters possessing only half-baked intelligence, whose methods of conversion to their beliefs have always been exclusively emotional. I refer to the Methodist Church, whose leaders and preachers not only acknowledge that they were responsible for originating the denunciation of the liquor dealers, but glorify themselves in its continuance, believing that they can do so with impunity.

"The Church" is now the general term applied to denote organized Christianity. In this country it has come to be employed to signify in general all organizations for Christian worship. In England it is still used as John Wesley, founder of Methodism, used it as long as he lived, to designate the Episcopalian or Anglican faith, which is the Church of England. Wesley was ordained in the Church of England, and never left it, and it was not until the American colonies had become a nation, completely separate from England both politically and religiously, that Wesley permitted his followers in America to become known in 1785 as the "Methodist Episcopal Church." As the Methodists increased in number in this

country they appropriated the word "church" as expressing what they considered the only true form of religious conversion. Now, when "The Church" is mentioned by a Methodist, it always means the Methodist Church.

I have no feeling of rancor against the dogma of any religious denomination. What I abhor is the intolerance which is found in greater or less degree in all denominations, but which has always been most evident in the "Church Militant," as Methodist leaders delight to call themselves.

The people who rule the churches in America today are by no means the majority of the religiously minded people of the country. Most of us, though we may not be as regular attendants at religious service as, perhaps, we should be, nor are we participants in the politics of the churches to which we may belong, undoubtedly are just as good Christians, with an even greater respect for true and sincere religion than most of those who are vociferous in the expression of their faith. It is by their regular attendance and by their noisy voicing of their religious zeal that the men who would dictate the spiritual, physical, and mental attitudes of their free-born countrymen acquire leadership. They are elected to lay offices in local, state, and national organizations that govern the various denominations to which they belong. Joined with the intolerant preachers and religious writers, these people form only a minority of the religious people in the country. They do not, in fact, represent a majority of the church membership of the country, but they rule because the majority takes no interest in the government and politics of the church to which they belong. In this respect church government differs little

from national government, where the majority of people privileged to vote do not avail themselves of their rights, and then are chagrined to find themselves living under laws which they know to be unjust and ineffective.

Domination of the religious sects by the intolerant minority has not been confined to any one denomination, but the governmental rules of some churches are more favorable to the intolerant class than those of others. Many intelligent and sincere men, whose life interests are closely allied to religious teachings, have realized the growing danger of such domination to the progress of any truly religious or spiritual effort in the country. Seeing what has happened to the more bold, few of them dare voice their disapproval. As an example we have the case of a prominent clergyman, dearly beloved by the members of his church, who was thrown bodily from the religious side-door of one of our great institutions. This same man serves also as an example of the greater tolerance of educated opinion, as he was recently received with great honor at the main entrance of that same university and decorated to show the world his value in the eyes of the intellectuals of the institution (Harry Emerson Fosdick, kicked out by the leaders in control of the Princeton Theological Seminary, was afterward given an honorary degree by Princeton University).

Laymen of sincere religious belief are daring to repudiate this self-constituted authority. One of the most eminent surgeons of the country protested William Jennings Bryan's political methods of dominating the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1925, saying that they were worse than any used by Philadelphia ward politicians to maintain their political control.

Recently one of our greatest scientists and educators, Doctor Millikan, President of California Institute of Technology, addressing the annual meeting of an association of Congregational churches on the "get-together idea of united religious effort" had for his subject "A Layman's View of Church Unity." This unity, he thought, might be accomplished in time through the advance of general education. He stated further, that in his opinion,—*"The greatest advance the Church has made was when our forefathers, hostile to the "State Church," had decided to introduce the separation of church and state,"* and he declared that *"all the forces of evil are not outside the Church"* (italics my own).

That clergymen are also beginning to dare is evidenced by pulpit utterances and the printed word. A recent issue of *World's Work* published an article by a Presbyterian minister in which he refers to "the reactionary element now in control of the Church"—meaning not any one denomination but the Protestant churches of America taken as an entity.

The Reverend Herbert Parrish, rector of an historic Episcopal Church in New Jersey, in an article published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, asserts that Prohibition is not rightly a religious issue. I quote in part:

For years the temperance societies, the W. C. T. U., and the Anti-Saloon League have kept total abstinence and the desire for legislative action against the Demon Rum as a rallying point for the organized activity of the Protestant churches. The recent revelations before the Senate investigating committee have shown the enormous sums of money collected by these agencies from the churches for use in this campaign. Billy Sunday always made it a chief article in his creed. ("Hell has frozen over," he declared when the Eighteenth Amendment was passed.) Other skilled and

highly paid workers were employed to carry on. Methods not always scrupulous, but justified in the eyes of the enthusiastic "dry" Protestants on the ground that the end justified the means,—a theory that Protestants formerly strongly condemned as belonging to Jesuit practice—were used in every state in the Union to ensure the success of this crusade. For years Prohibition formed the chief subject of Protestant preaching. It is probably no exaggeration to say that every pastor of certain denominations either made it the theme of his Sunday sermon or at least referred to it strongly in his discourse, making it practically the *sine qua non* in religion.

It does not seem to have occurred to many that the Bible as an authoritative book in reality suffered more from the emphasis on Prohibition than it had suffered from all the critical literature ever written by German or other critics. The critics had merely shown up a few facts of historicity. They had allowed the moral and spiritual values to stand on their own intrinsic merits. But in advocating Prohibition the Protestant clergy were compelled to criticize the very morality of the Gospel. The marriage at Cana, where Jesus turned the water into wine, when men had "well drunk," became reprehensible. The advice to Timothy to "use a little wine" was given in ignorance. The very matter of the sacrament of the Lord's supper was regarded as intrinsically evil. Unfermented grape juice was generally substituted. The Pauline discourses about the provocative character of negative legislation were always passed over. It was even proposed to get out an edition of the Bible with all the passages that referred to wine deleted. (Just as the Mohammedans and some of the Crusading Christians of early times destroyed, as unholy, our ancient literature and works of art.) In short, the Bible in the house of its friends became a dangerous book. Many parts of it could not possibly be read in Protestant churches. They would contradict the sermon.

But now that the methods by which Prohibition was put over have been exposed—and its failure to freeze up hell everywhere became apparent, the evils of it constantly more pressing—reaction has set in. Division on the subject even in the ranks of the pas-

tors will follow. Already the Lutherans have come out strongly against it. Episcopalians in increasing numbers refuse to praise its works. Conventions, synods, and assemblies are less unanimous in voting resolutions supporting the law. Prohibition as a religious rallying point will fail. In reality it is not a religious issue. Temperance, yes; but not Prohibition.

Thus we may take it as a fact that there is a growing doubt in the minds of the most religious people of the efficacy of intolerant methods in pious dictation. Undoubtedly, in some minds, this is leading to scepticism as to the beneficence of religion itself.

Regardless of their attitude toward religion and toward Prohibition, the people of this country, except those actively engaged in trying to force their opinions down the public throat, are beginning to look askance at the increasing political interest of the intolerant church class. The people as a whole are beginning to recognize their intent to force all their more-than-reactionary ideas—not Prohibition alone—on the American people. It was an eminent educator, Samuel Harden Church, President of Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, who first publicly voiced the growing distrust of the present day activity of the churches in public affairs. In his sworn statement to the Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate at their hearings in April, 1926, he pointed out the danger when he said:

What I am trying to call to the attention of the Committee—myself a Protestant and a Churchman—is the fact that some of the Protestant churches of our land, either by banding together, or by working independently but reciprocally, and all of them using Prohibition as an entering wedge, are aiming by these indirect methods to effect a union of Church and State through the

back door, when the Constitution of the United States prohibits them from accomplishing that purpose through the front door.

It was the Methodist Church which, in this country, first called compulsory Prohibition a moral issue. Agnes Repplier ("The Urbane Intolerance of Americans," in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1926) has well said: "No issue which is exclusively moral can survive political handling. From a desire to benefit mankind it sinks to a determination to coerce mankind," a statement, the truth of which the Methodist Church, et al, has proved. But this church cannot claim to have originated the idea that Prohibition is a moral and religious issue. An unlettered camel driver is responsible for the first appearance in history and religion of Prohibition as a tenet of a church. Mohammed, who set up a new god, with himself as prophet, some six hundred years after the beginning of the New Testament era, incorporated the idea in his book of laws. He drafted educated men of his day to write his sacred book, the Koran, which is largely plagiarized from the Bible, but changed with the same degree of cunning that is used by pious prohibitionists today to distort its meaning. (Clarence True Wilson, general secretary, originator and manager of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in his defense of his activities in national politics in the name of his Board. See also Addenda for Plagiarism.—*Forum*, November, 1926—quotes Mat. 15-13. "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted shall be rooted up" and translating gravely announces "This refers to brewery plants, distillery plants, saloon plants"). It is in the Koran that Prohibition by religious law first appears in history.

Alcohol has been used in some form as a beverage as far back as there has been any history of the human race. Though Noah is the first patriarch named in the Old Testament as a user, and alas, as an abuser of strong drink, it is apparent that wine was the ordinary drink long before the flood. All through the Old Testament narratives wine is used to designate the beginnings of civilized intercourse. In the New Testament wine is the symbol of Christianity itself.

Thus we may take it that the appetite for alcohol is inherent in the human race. We know that it has been used as beverage or restorative by every outstanding figure in history. As it is always the demand which causes the supply, it is ridiculous to try to approach the subject as a moral question, and cowardly as well as ridiculous to heap abuse on the heads of the liquor traffic as a whole for supplying that natural demand. The Bible is the justification for and the vindication of the existence of such a traffic.

Our traducers claim as a moral law that the "world would be a better place without the curse of drink." Having the sound proof that the desire for alcohol has been inherent in the human race since its earliest beginnings, and that its use and abuse have been known from the beginning of time down through the centuries, does it not seem strange that, when God in his wisdom gave his table of moral laws for human guidance, he omitted to prohibit this grave evil?

Or, centuries later, centuries of use and abuse of wine and strong drink, is it not strange that Jesus Christ did not add Prohibition to the Ten Commandments in preference to that one which he did add—"A new commandment I give unto you—That ye love one another—."

CHAPTER IV

APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT OF METHODISM

WHO are the Methodists, and on what grounds do they base their claims to the right to call those who disagree with them "liars and traitors"? Are they, and have they always been such good Americans that they have the right to speak for the entire American people? It is necessary to turn back the pages of history to the eighteenth century fully to understand them and their assumption of the prerogative of dictating the temperance, prohibition, and public morals of the country.

The report of the Senate hearings' testimony before the Sub-Committee of the Committee of the Judiciary in April, 1926, is contained in two bound volumes making altogether 1,660 pages, for and against Prohibition. These may be obtained by writing to one's representative in the Senate or the House at Washington. They show the enforcement methods used under the Volstead act, and the results of the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment from the time it became effective until 1926. They show, further, that it was the leaders of the Methodist Church who guided the presentation before the committee of the evidence in favor of the Eighteenth Amendment and the enforcement act. The political influence of these church leaders at Washington is made very evident in the bias toward their side of all but one of the members

of the sub-committee, and especially by that of the Oklahoma chairman. This bias is conspicuous throughout the testimony, and also in the amount of testimony that was allowed to be printed for each side. The fact that more pages were printed for the Prohibitionists than for the anti's, however, is more than offset by the comparison of the calibre of the witnesses used by each side.

It is those Senate hearings that have been mainly responsible for the great mass of literature published for and against Prohibition since they were held, as they were the inspiration for most of it.

On reading this report and some of this literature one is forced to ask just what is this Methodist Episcopal Church, and why should its intolerant and intolerable leaders have any special fitness or ability to guide the future destiny of these United States? Do we permit them this authority because the early leaders of Methodism in this, our country, performed heroic deeds and shed their blood in the accomplishment of the degree of liberty which we now enjoy, which they are now endeavoring still further to curtail? If not, by what right do they make this charge of treason against all of us who differ from them or dare to dispute their right to organize their church members for political interference under their direction and command?

The earliest converts to Methodism came largely from the poorest and most illiterate portion of the population of England. If they had any previous church affiliation it was for the most part with the established Church of England. The founder of Methodism was strongly influenced in his ideals by religious writers of other sects, as we find in his own writings, and we cannot

help noting the similarity between Methodism and Mohammedanism.

We find in Mohammedanism and in the early Methodist writings the benefits to be conferred in a future life upon their followers. We find promises of rewards and preferments in the future life commensurate with faithfulness in this, and these rewards were supposed to be given in atonement for miseries suffered on earth. The most surprising similarity, however, is that of the "militancy" the two religions have in common, the difference being that the militancy of the Mohammedans was that of "deeds" while that of the early and present day Methodists was and is of "words." This may be due to the fact that the founder of Methodism was a studious person rather than a red blooded out-of-doors man, while his present day followers are "peaceful people."

In my search for information on Methodism, my effort to find out if they were justified in the conclusion that they had a right to their present political influence, I was amazed at the amount of explanatory and persuasive literature available. No one could help being astounded at the amount of material that has been published since John Wesley first started his writing on the subject. Wesley himself wielded a facile pen. I found that his contributions alone, including his rules and regulations, sermons, tracts, and other efforts amounted to over three hundred separate religious writings. Since his time it would appear that nearly every Methodist preacher who could "push a pen" has considered it his privilege, as well as his duty, to contribute something in writing which would be read or sung to the glory of Methodism.

Prof. Robt. W. Rogers, of Drew Seminary, Madison,

N. J., which institution is considered the fountain head of highest Methodist religious education—under his chapter entitled “The Making of Books” has this to say of the Reverend Faculty of Drew.—“The record of their achievements is so surpassing that a catalogue of their published writings would fill pages, and the adequate characterization and appraisal of their contributions to theological learning would demand a large volume” (*Drew Theological Seminary 1867-1917*, published by the Methodist Book Concern). Prof. Rogers was entirely sincere in this statement—nothing humorous was intended, while the Methodist Book Concern was responsible for the publishing and distribution of most of this “achievement in the making of books.”

There is a much slighter volume of reading matter which shows a lack of love and admiration for Methodism, and the authors of this have always been immediately submerged in a flood of militant Methodist invective. Of these might be mentioned a book that is probably the most bitter denunciation of emotional conversion ever written. I refer to *Up from Methodism* by Herbert Asbury, published in 1926. Since then Asbury has published another volume dealing with Methodism—*A Methodist Saint, The Life of Bishop Asbury*. The first of these books is opinion, the second history. In *Up from Methodism* the author, who is a lineal descendant of Francis Asbury's brother, denounces the hypocrisy, intolerance, and fanaticism that made his boyhood miserable. He is bitter against the camp-meeting methods of conversion practiced by the illiterate preachers of his boyhood days, which he vividly describes. The book gives convincing proof of the injurious effect to religion

in general, prophesied by leaders in more conservative churches, of the highly emotional "methods of Methodism" of the time.

A Methodist Saint, while showing no lack of bias, shows also an enormous amount of research, and cites authorities, and as a critic in the *New York Times Book Review*, April 3, 1927, says, it is "a book far more damaging to Methodism than the earlier volume—history is harder to refute or ignore than adjectives." This book may serve as a resumé of some seventy volumes through which Asbury waded in preparation for its writing.

Anyone who digs deeply into the mass of Methodist literature is bound to be impressed by the glorification of the sect which there abounds. Practically every Methodist writer has claimed for Methodism the credit for every benefit to civilization which has been accomplished during the last three centuries. A lively detail which will certainly excite interest is the frequency with which the charge of falsehood is made. Any facts presented in opposition are immediately branded as lies by these *religious* writers who seldom deem it necessary to offer proofs to substantiate their charges of mendacity, considering their sanctity of office sufficient guarantee of their knowledge and presentation of the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The use of obloquy instead of argument permeates the entire mass, just as it does in their vocal thunderbolts delivered from the pulpits. When for some reason Methodist writers and preachers do not dare to vilify, they cast reflections by innuendo against the characters and motives of their opponents.

With some surprise one notes that the favored form

of argument of the brethren is not confined to use against those outside the fold. There is a decidedly vitriolic streak noticeable in controversy that has developed inside this body which claims to be founded on the love of Christ and brotherly love for co-workers. This virulence is sometimes frankly voiced in the same vicious language as is used to stigmatize enemies of the church, but more often it follows the more poisonous course and is couched in terms of love. We who have suffered from the wicked epithets hurled at us by the Methodist pulpit and press certainly can "get a kick" out of the holy and sorrowful language with which these pious writers assail their brother workers in the Lord's vineyard.

Among other conclusions reached after intensive study of Methodist history and writings is that very early the leaders of the then societies began to interest themselves in English politics. I have this, I think, on the authority of John Alfred Faulkner, D.D., professor of Historical Theology in the Drew Methodist Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, who writes on Methodism for the *New International Encyclopedia*. He says in the *New International*, "Methodism," Vol. V, page 504:

Political and social legislation of the nineteenth century rested back on a revived consciousness of the masses which was born of Methodism. Though Wesleyan Methodism itself was excessively conservative in the first half of the nineteenth century, partly because, as its reaction to criticism and persecution, it wanted to commend itself to the authorities and to the higher classes, and partly through an over-timid deference to the Established Church, *its members were thoroughly alive to popular rights*. So much so that *almost* every important advance in political liberalism and social amelioration went hand in hand with an exodus of eager reformers out of Wesleyanism to form a new Methodist Church,

or to re-enforce other churches or *devote themselves solely to secular betterments* (italics are mine). On the surface the secessions were ecclesiastical; deeper down they were also *political* and *economic*, the cry of men awakened by the gospel for the liberty of the sons of God.

It is doubtless because of the knowledge of the behavior of the early Methodist preachers in America that Dr. Faulkner inserted the word "almost" in this typical Methodist dissertation. Other historical sources bring out the fact that they were not so "thoroughly alive to popular rights" in the days when the American colonists were battling for those rights.

This exception to the Methodist love of popular rights is of considerable importance when weighed against the fact that present day leaders of the denomination demand the prerogative of organizing as the "Church in action" to curtail further our popular rights. Be it noted, also, that it was by the acquisition of American liberty, an acquisition in which they had little part, that these "sons of God" were subsequently in a position to throw truth to the winds in their vilification of all those connected with "the demon rum," and are now in various ways endeavoring to graft the dominance of Methodism upon the government of the United States.

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM— JOHN WESLEY

IN order to understand the motives behind the malignant and unscrupulous fulminations by the Methodists against the class to which I belong, it will be necessary to examine the beginnings and history of that sect and its various branches. In so doing I will attempt to follow the system of that eminent historian, Macauley, by presenting in miniature an historical picture of Methodism in its early stages.

Methodism was the name given to a religious movement started in England in the first part of the eighteenth century. To John Wesley is justly given the credit for its organization and its rapid increase in membership, though his younger brother Charles was the originator of the small society at Oxford University from which the movement sprang and from which it took its name.

John and Charles Wesley were the sons of an English clergyman, Samuel Wesley, who at the time of their birth occupied the church "living" at Epworth, in the agricultural district of Lincolnshire. The family was a large one, there being nineteen children in all, John the fifteenth, and Charles the eighteenth. The living was not important, but both father and mother belonged to the educated class, and all of the children were well grounded in education and manners. It is important to remember

that they learned from hard experience the first principles of economy, and were taught by precept and example the necessity of cultivating people of wealth and influence. This form of sycophancy was made necessary by the fact that at that time in England both ecclesiastical and political preferment were dependent almost entirely on patronage. Later Wesley taught his followers so thoroughly the value of servility to and flattery of the rich that even today much of the financial support of Methodist institutions is gained through the use of such means.

Both John and Charles Wesley received their early education in the public schools. John was sent to Charter House at the age of ten; later Charles was entered at Westminster, where his oldest brother was Master, at the age of nine. Both boys, after finishing their preparatory school work, in due course received free scholarships at Christ Church College, Oxford, where John matriculated in 1720 and received his degree in 1724. He was ordained deacon of the Episcopal Church in 1725. In 1726 he was elected Fellow of Lincoln, much to his father's gratification, and he was ordained priest in 1728. His ambition for higher preferment in the Church of England, in which and at whose expense he was educated, was never to be satisfied. It is in emulation of Wesley that every Methodist preacher since his time has shown an inordinate desire to appropriate the title of "Doctor" to distinguish himself above the common term "Brother" which all Methodists use. *the la*

John Wesley acted as curate for his father for a short time after his ordination, but was recalled to Oxford by the rules of the University regarding his fellowship. (There appears to be confusion in dates at this period of

his career, but I follow Dr. Faulkner's account in the *New International Encyclopedia*.) There he found his brother Charles, who had matriculated in 1726, and was foregathering with three or four fellow undergraduates, whom the other students, in ridicule, dubbed the "Holy Club." Here, with his friends he began the observance of a strict system of life, persuading them to follow the method of study prescribed by the statutes of the University. "This gained me" he says, "the harmless nickname of Methodist, which seems at first not to have had any religious significance" (*New International Encyclopedia*, Vol. 23, page 472).

"Methodist" was thus coined as a term of ridicule and used in derision by the care-free students of the early eighteenth century, much as the modern youth who reads a book of poems on the bleachers at a football game might gain an expressive nickname from his lighter-minded companions. John, finding this ready-made society took up the word Methodist as a matter of course, and it became an ecclesiastical watch word (*New International Encyclopedia*, Vol. XVI, (pages 504-506).

After John Wesley returned to Oxford, he took over to himself the direction of the Holy Club which his brother had initiated, which then comprised only three or four members. John, by his organizing ability increased the membership to more than a dozen, but it fell apart entirely after he left the university. John was offered the living of Epworth on the death of his father, which occurred shortly after his return to Oxford, but he refused it, to continue his post-graduate studies, as he did not feel a "call" to that humble living. Charles Wesley, after receiving his degree, coached pupils for a while, as he had

not yet decided to take orders. In fact he was rather averse to being ordained, as he preferred devoting himself to writing hymns, a practice at which he had already gained some reputation. In all, he wrote over six thousand hymns, a record which might daunt the stoutest follower of his brother. John, however, overruled his hesitancy, and persuaded him to be ordained in 1735, that he might be better qualified to accompany him on the mission to which John had at last heard a "call." He, John, had decided that he was fitted for the trying life of a missionary, and would go out to teach the Indians of God's love, and incidentally care for and regulate the religious instruction of the settlers of a new colony in America. So, following his call he left Oxford to join General Oglethorpe, the chief of a number of trustees who had received a grant of land from the English government, and had formed a company for the purpose of "establishing the Colony of Georgia in America."

General Oglethorpe's idea was to found an asylum for the debtors of England, and for the Protestant refugees of Europe, who were at that time coming to England in great numbers. This colony was the only one of the original thirteen to receive governmental aid in its foundation, it being the idea of the British government to make it a buffer of defense between the Carolina colonies and the Spaniards in Florida. Thus the reasons for the starting of the colony were as varied as its first settlers.

Fifty Jewish colonists arrived in Georgia in 1733. They were followed in 1734 by Lutheran refugees from Germany; in 1736 a party of Highlanders arrived, accompanied by John and Charles Wesley, with two former members of the Holy Club.

Historians apparently agree that the Wesleys and the Holy Club were not singularly successful in their initial efforts to reform the world. The meddling and dictatorial ways of the brothers made them extremely unpopular, following, as they did, the same way that Methodist missionary meddling reacts today. Even the pro-Methodist historian of Charles says (*International Encyclopedia*): "His sojourn in America was even shorter than John's; it was marked by unpopularity arising from what was considered an excess in strictness in life and doctrine;" and of John: "His mission was not altogether a success; he was regarded as too strict, and some points on which he insisted were not thought to be in harmony with Protestantism. His sojourn in Georgia was not without good, and his departure was regarded as a real loss to the Colony." As to this last statement it is easy to find splendid authorities who disagree. Henry Cabot Lodge, in his *History of the English Colonies in America*, published by Harper, says that "the stay of the brothers in Georgia was brief, and their departure a relief to the Colony in which they had only made trouble." He relates that Charles, who came out as a secretary of Oglethorpe, had made trouble by slandering his chief, and that John embroiled the whole Colony in a love affair in which he was disappointed. John, he says, left the Colony with an indictment for libel pending against him.

We come now to what I take to be one of the most important episodes in the life of Wesley, and thus in the shaping of Methodism, though it is a point that is touched lightly by Methodist historians. In the *New International Encyclopedia's* article on John Wesley it is given only this short reference—"On his voyage to Savannah, he

met some of the Moravian Brethren, whose simple evangelical piety made a deep impression on him. On his return to London he sought them out, and from Peter Bohler, one of their preachers, imbibed the doctrine of saving faith, and broke away from the influence of William Law, strong in his earlier life (William Law, 1686-1761). Law was an English devotional author—a strong Tory sympathizer. His writings are deeply tinged with mysticism—his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* first awakened the religious sensibilities of Dr. Johnson, who speaks of it in high terms. The Wesleys also derived much advantage from it, and became intimate with Law, but later rejected his teachings. In the summer of 1738, he went abroad to visit their leaders, and stayed at Herrnhut and with Zinzendorf at Marienborn. He corresponded with Zinzendorf for some time, and his letters are still preserved at Herrnhut. His new experiences made a vital difference in him. He associated with Moravians in England, and with other societies interested in the growth of spiritual life.”

Considering the glory the Methodists hand themselves for their efforts to effect prohibition by laws, rather than to promote temperance by appeal to the heart and mind, it is amusing to digress here to consider a peevish letter which Wesley wrote to an English friend at this time, complaining that his Moravian hosts were lax in their hospitality, in that they did not offer him wine with his meals, as was the custom of his English entertainers, and which he certainly expected when visiting the wine-drinking class to which the German Moravians belonged.

My reason for stressing the importance of Wesley's intimacy with the Moravians, so lightly touched by his

Methodist biographer, lies in the fact that it seems clear that he "adapted" from this kindly sect the most important tenets which he incorporated into Methodism, and to which he clung most tenaciously from the time of this association. "Adapting" was Wesley's long suit, but he was less frank about it than Kipling when "What he thought he might require, 'E went and took—the same as me." Again and again throughout his career we find him helping himself to what "he might require" and giving credit only when the necessity was forced upon him.

PLAGIARISM

(*The Forum*, February, 1927)

Would it be impertinent to inquire as to which is the more serious offense: to take a drink in private or to pose as an Arbiter of Public Morals, and plagiarize in public?

In his article, Dr. Wilson writes: "As a nation we need a new education as to drinking intoxicants, and a new personal standard of respect for law and voluntary obedience to it."

Thanks to the activity of our dry friends, as a nation we are rapidly getting a new and thorough education as to making as well as drinking intoxicants; and, as to a new personal standard of respect for law, there are still many who do not consider it a wrong to take a drink, but who do consider it a wrong to take what does not belong to them.

Or to plagiarize.

GUIALLIAEM AERTSEN, JR.

Philadelphia, Pa.

An Accusation

The editors have no comment to make.

Editor of *The Forum*:

Dr. Clarence True Wilson's article in the November issue of *The Forum*, "Methodist Rights in Politics," is its own best an-

swer. To uphold the principle of the separation of Church and State with one breath, and with the next to justify the planting of the Methodist Building opposite to the Senate Office Building in Washington, with the intention of influencing the Government by the power of the voters in the Methodist Church, is to condemn the proposition simply by stating it.

Dr. Wilson, the Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is an able and sincere man. But in his article he would seem to have fallen from grace. As one of the Custodians of the Public Morals, he might be expected to set an example for the unrighteous and to point out to them the path in which they should tread. I had rather gathered that such an intent lay back of putting up the Methodist Building. So it was with surprise and disappointment that I learned from a lady whose interest in Church affairs is deep, whose reading is wide, and whose memory is accurate, that Dr. Wilson has cheerfully borrowed from Canon Farrar's *Life of Christ* a certain passage, has slightly changed the set-up so as to cloak it, if only a little, and sent it forth as his own child, with no allusion whatsoever to the real author.

In *The Life of Christ*, (by Frederic W. Farrar. E. P. Dutton & Company. New York. 1875), Volume II, pages 420-421, appears the following:

"The effects, then, of the work of Christ are even to the unbeliever indisputable. *It expelled cruelty; it curbed passion; it branded suicide; it punished and repressed an execrable infanticide; it drove the shamless impurities of heathendom into a congenial darkness. There was hardly a class whose wrongs it did not remedy. It rescued the gladiator; it freed the slave; it protected the captive; it nursed the sick; it sheltered the orphan; it elevated the woman; it shrouded as with a halo of sacred innocence the tender years of the child.*"

In "Methodist Rights in Politics" (*The Forum*, November, 1926, page 674), Dr. Wilson writes as follows:

"It (Christianity) stopped crucifixion as a means of punishment, it abolished *gladiatorial* exhibitions where human lives were sacrificed for the amusement of a populace, *it freed the slave, it*

protected the captive from the execrations that were heaped upon him, it reformed prison abuses, it nourished the sick, it sheltered the orphan, it elevated woman, it shrouded with a halo of sacred purity the tender years of the child. There is hardly a class of wrongs that it did not remedy. It expelled cruelty, it curbed passions, it branded suicide, it punished and repressed an execrable infanticide, it drove the shameless impurities of heathenism and of idol worship into congenial darkness."

In the above quotations the italics are mine. Everything in italics is common to both.

The plagiarism is clear. It is almost verbatim. Not quite. Better for Dr. Wilson if it were. Then it might possibly be explained as some sort of error in acknowledgement. But as it stands, with the order of the sentences changed, with here and there a word or phrase left out and here and there a word or phrase altered, it is patent plagiarism, with a poor attempt at disguise.

From one of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, this is illuminating.

DOCTOR CHAS. TRUE WILSON'S DEFENSE

(*Forum*, May, 1927)

Editor of *The Forum*:

My statement on the relation of our Church to the State which was published under the heading of "Methodist Rights in Politics" seems to have stirred up our friends on all sides.

The Church is organized for the promotion of its religious principles and its moral ideals. It was in order to make its Christian ideals effective as a teaching force that the Methodists organized their Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals. The presence of this institution in Washington can be easily misapprehended. Its justification depends on what it is trying to do. There are some things it never does. It has never spent a penny or a minute securing government positions for Methodists. It never secured a dollar of government support for denominational activities. The Church has the same right to its convictions that its enemies have to theirs; the same right to organize for the main-

tenance of its views that Labor has, that Capital has, that the big trusts have, that the war party has, that the pacifists have, that the Brewers' Association and the wine merchants have, and as much as the bootleggers' fraternity, represented by some men on the outside and some on the in, who have given a major part of their time to advocating the Liquor Traffic's coming back. While those forces are here at the nation's capital working for the overthrow of their constitutional government, we shall not hesitate to pursue our course in defending the principle of a saloonless nation.

The separation of Church and State does not mean that one antagonizes the other, but that they keep to their tasks in separate fields. The one taxes, governs, enacts laws, attends to policing at home, and protection, as between nations; the other takes the voluntary support that is handed to it by believers and works at the tasks of creating a moral sentiment that shall sustain government and maintain law.

The letter in the February *Forum*, by Mr. Aertsen, has given me a piece of information I have been looking for for thirty-five years. In 1892, when I was a young preacher, nineteen years of age, I clipped a paragraph, signed "selected," and carried it around with me, attempting to commit it to memory. It has been a favorite passage and I have added so much to it from time to time that I imagined there was little of the original left, never having known the authorship of the original; and when I dictated my article for *The Forum*, I used that as a springboard to bring the history of Christianity in its moral influences in the world down to date. I never, until now, knew that it was in Canon Farrar's *Life of Christ*, for I am sorry to say I had never read that book.

I had just dictated an article in another connection, my annual report, and, wanting to express the same thought, made an elaborate statement of what Christianity had done for the Christian Ages and dropped into much of the same language as in my semi-quotation in *The Forum* article, but, upon the appearance of Mr. Aertsen's notation, I stopped the press and put this footnote: "This paragraph adapted from the suggestions of Canon Farrar's *Life of Christ*, page 420, Volume 2." I find, in looking the matter

up, that Canon Farrar attributes, in a footnote, the origin of these ideas to Keim's *Life of Jesus*, page 370, Abridged Edition. If using your favorite quotation as a springboard for that advance is plagiarism, then I should be verily guilty and there is not a writer in existence who would be authorized by the Scriptures to throw the first stone.

CLARENCE TRUE WILSON

Washington, D. C.

It is singular to see an eloquent Methodist historian passing up the opportunity for emotionalism that is inherent in the meeting of Wesley with the Moravians on the long trip to Savannah. Anyone who knows the hard-headed Highlanders will understand with what joy Wesley must have turned from expounding his doctrines to their unheeding ears and found relief for his pent-up feelings among the gentler German Moravians. Perhaps the Highlanders were relieved also, as a fictional biographer, who had made a deep study of the Wesleyan character says: "John Wesley crammed his fellow voyagers with great raw collops of theology, preached and prayed and scolded. The wonder is that some exasperated sinner didn't quietly heave Mr. Wesley overboard some dark night" (Review of *The Holy Lover*, Marie C. Oemler, in the *New York Times Book Review*, May 15, 1927).

Among the Moravian doctrines that have been "adapted" to Methodism, I will touch only on three high spots, the "Economy," the "Exclusive System," and the "Diaspora." The Moravian Economy was worked jointly with the other two, but was used principally by their missionaries in founding colonies. John Wesley had lost his taste for colonization in his Georgia experi-

ence and probably was not interested in the practical working of the "Economy" except as it could be changed to help in the collecting of funds for Methodism.

The Economy of the Moravians was a system by which they governed their colonists. By this system the lands were the property of the Church, and the farms and industries were carried on for its benefit, but he who had means of his own retained them. There was no common treasury. Working this system, missionaries persuaded colonists from Georgia to move to Nazareth and Lebanon, Pennsylvania, where these dwellers in a free land were ruled from headquarters in Germany.

In starting his own society, Wesley knew well that organization was quite as important as spiritual life. It is apparent that the time he spent studying with the Moravians in Saxony was devoted more to mastering details of their modes of organization than to interest in their spiritual life. These points in organization, several of them since eliminated by the Moravians, and "adaptations" he made from other religious bodies, made the structure of his own "societies" so eminently fitted for gathering both converts and funds.

Charles Wesley, after returning from Georgia became curate of St. Mary's, Islington, and threw himself vigorously into evangelistic work. In 1739, after some unfriendliness and censure from the constituted authorities of the Church, he entered definitely the itinerant ministry. But he kept on writing hymns most assiduously, as the growth of Methodism had opened up a splendid market for them. All of the leaders of the societies, from the Wesleys down through the circuit, itinerant and lay preachers, and even the class leaders of

the organization, instructed their "poor sheep" as to what they should read, and what they should sing, both week days and Sundays. (The Methodist Book Concern today produces and distributes the literature.) They kept eyes and ears open that nothing improper in literature or music should distract their flocks or lessen the obedience and support due the shepherds. In the homes of the ultra-pious class-leaders the bird cage was covered on Sunday that the Sabbath quiet might not be disturbed by the unholy sound of bird notes.

Charles Wesley is given credit for having written the words of that superb old hymn beginning "Come thou Almighty King" to which he "adapted" the music of the British National Anthem, so that the tune became associated in that time (as it is today in the minds of most Methodists) with the glorification of their Church rather than with the British crown. Isaac Watts, however, was also writing hymns at this time (1674-1748) and, knowing the Wesley plagiaristic habits, it's a fifty-fifty bet that Charles plagiarized the words from Watts as well as borrowing a tune to fit them. This is the hymn with which Abel Stevens (see photostatic reprints from *Historical Magazine*, in the Appendix) claims the Methodists in New York at the Methodist Preaching House in John Street "defied" the British. Knowing that New York was the hot-bed of Toryism during the Revolution and that this incident was supposed to have taken place before the United States had been born as a nation, we can judge for ourselves whether Stevens or Dawson was the more accurate historian, also as to the merits of the Methodist's "*convincing proof*."

John Wesley, after his return from studying the sys-

tem of the Moravian Brethren in Saxony, associated himself with the evangelical work which was being conducted by George Whitefield in England. Whitefield was a much more lovable character than most of those associated with the Wesleys throughout their work. He was one of the students who had been dominated by John in the "Holy Club" at Oxford, but later developed a degree of independence. After leaving Oxford with his degree he followed the Wesleys to Georgia, but passed them on the ocean as they were returning from their failure as missionaries. Whitefield, though not of such hallowed memory in the eyes of the Methodist Church, left a permanent mark in the new country. He was successful as a missionary, his emotionalism running more to sympathy with the sturdy independence of the colorists. He founded an orphanage in Georgia and returned to England after four months to collect funds for its maintenance, and to be ordained as a priest of the Established Church. In this latter effort he found that he was handicapped by his association with the Wesleys, but the difficulty was overcome, and he was ordained in 1739. Whitefield never had the organizing ability nor the ingrained economy of John Wesley, but he was blessed with a like gift for emotional preaching and a much larger heart. He succeeded on this trip to England in collecting £1000 for his orphanage, and returned to America the same year. The rest of his life was divided between his missionary work to the colonies and evangelical preaching in England. He died after his seventh trip to America, in Newburyport, Massachusetts.

When John Wesley saw Whitefield preaching in the open air, his High-church principles were at first of-

fended; but he was won over to this way of proselyting, and preached his first outdoor sermon on April 2, 1729, and with this sermon began his real life work. His success was such that a special place had to be built in the neighborhood of Bristol to take care of his converts. His first society was organized July 20, 1740, and was quickly followed by many others, as he and Charles travelled about preaching all over England. Within five years' time from his first open air meeting at Bristol, he had developed his organization to such an extent that there were two thousand members in his London societies alone. By that time he had forty-five preachers associated under him, a result which has hardly been equalled even in these days of scientific publicity. Most of his preachers were uneducated, many of them illiterate, but all had in common an emotional eloquence for which alone they were selected. Although busy preaching and organizing all over the country, Wesley's literary output was enormous, and this output made necessary a tremendous amount of reading, as little, if any, of his writing was strictly original. The rules and regulations he drew up for his societies came mainly, with a few changes, from those of the Established Church of England, though for these, and for his other literary efforts, he appropriated and published as his own idea what suited him best from other Protestant sources, Lutheran, Calvinistic, Arminian—he used them all. Even his ardent admirer Dr. Faulkner (*New International Encyclopedia*, "Methodism," Vol. xv, Page 504) admits that "Wesley's catholicity was so broad that he was not greatly concerned whether the books he reprinted for his people were by Roman Catholics or Unitarians, so long as they

were to religious edification." Dr. Faulkner does not add that his morals were also so "broad" that he found it unnecessary in most cases to credit the original authors.

Wesley's preaching was deliberately emotional. There is nothing in his life to show that he himself was easily swayed by a verbal flow of soul, but he was clever enough to realize that emotionalism was the quickest and most powerful appeal to the ignorant classes he was determined to reach. Hand in hand with his preaching he used whatever methods his well educated mind suggested would best spread his influence and strengthen his organization, with little concern as to the sources from which he plagiarized his writings, or as to how the methods of organization had formerly been used, or by whom.

The result of his study of the Moravian "Diaspora," the idea of "seeking the conversion of individuals without drawing them from their former communion," is obvious. This he used to increase the number of his followers (as the Moravians used it), to steal away converts from other denominations. The use of this system, but not by the Moravian name, "Diaspora" or inner mission, is continually urged throughout Wesley's writings. (*New International Encyclopedia*, Moravians, Vol. XVI, page 239).

In the beginning the Methodist societies were entirely independent of each other, but each headed by John Wesley, who held them together. His preaching dates afforded him so little time that he was himself unable to give them proper supervision, so a plan was worked out that was identical with the "Exclusive System" of the Moravians, which Wesley had studied in Saxony. The members of the various societies were divided into bands

of twelve with a leader over each. The leaders were to report to Wesley the conduct of the members, and to collect money from each. This system worked well, both in keeping the society members under Wesley's domination, without eating too heavily into his time, and in swelling the funds of the societies, for money was collected from all who could possibly afford to give.

As Methodist conversion was based on emotionalism, the gift of fiery eloquence was more of an asset to the early Methodist preachers than was intellect or education. Nevertheless Wesley gave a cordial welcome to the few converts to his doctrines who had been educated by and for the Church of England. This welcome was due to the fact that there were so few preachers in the new societies who had the right to administer the sacraments. No one recognized better than Wesley the fact that his ignorant but oratorical preachers had no authority to administer the sacraments, which are the outward and visible signs of conversion to a Christian church, by which the converted show that they have undertaken the solemn engagements of their conversion. In the Church of England this authority was given only to those who had been ordained priests by the bishops of the Church. Wesley had it because he had been so ordained, but he had no right to confer like authority on his uneducated preachers. Therefore his reception to ordained ministers was most cordial.

Wesley was fully aware of the advantages given by his own education, and his treatment of his preachers was extremely autocratic. While he was obsessed with the ambition to increase the size of his flock, he always

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looked upon his humble followers as "poor sheep" and called them by that name again and again.

The Church of England was antagonized by Wesley's methods. His emotional treatment of religion was an offense to the dignity of the Church. His plagiarism was repugnant to the leaders of that Church, who recognized his sources, and they were particularly embittered by the use of their church rules, "amended," for the regulation of his societies, whose membership was largely taken from their own. Wesley himself, however, never gave up the hope that the Established Church would somehow countenance the societies and absorb his large flocks, and that he, their shepherd, would receive for himself substantial preferment in the Anglican organization.

Neither John nor Charles Wesley ever left the communion of that church, and they warned their followers not to do so, and not to set up any organization outside of that Church. No name but the Methodist Societies was ever used in England, and though John Wesley had taken the name of "Methodist" because it was thrust upon him, he never permitted any other name to be used which might widen the gulf, narrow in his estimation, which separated his societies from the Church of England organization in which his ambitions always centered.

It was not long before some of the better educated of his adherents fell away from Wesley, partly because of religious differences, but more because they tired of his autocratic rule. Whitely was the most prominent of these deserters, while even his brother Charles finally left him. Charles approved emotional preaching and conversion, but he could not subscribe to the "immediate perfection" idea promulgated by John. John contended that immedi-

ate perfection was the result of emotional "salvation," while Charles thought it was a more gradual process.

It was not until after the Revolution had separated us politically from England, as it had separated us religiously from the Church of England, that Wesley took upon himself the right to ordain when he could not persuade any Episcopalian bishop to ordain his preachers. He and two other Methodists, who, like himself, had been ordained as Episcopalian priests, ordained Thomas Coke as "Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America" by "laying on of hands." Wesley was careful not to give Coke the title of bishop, but he might have saved himself the trouble of this camouflage, for the Church in America soon helped itself to the title. Dr. Faulkner says (*Methodist Encyclopedia*): "In 1784 Wesley ordained Thomas Coke 'Superintendent' for America, and at the Christmas conference of 1784-85 held in Baltimore, Maryland, the Methodist Episcopal Church was constituted by the ordination of Francis Asbury as Superintendent (by Coke), and the drawing up of the Church Constitution. The new overseers assumed the title of bishop, much to Wesley's disgust, as he, out of deference to the Church of England, desired them to be called simply Superintendents. *But that he considered them to be bishops in the full sense of the word, there can be no doubt*" (italics are mine).

This making of bishops by "laying on of hands" caused much disgusted comment in England in regard to John Wesley's hypocrisy, where also it was not doubted that Wesley "considered them to be bishops in the full sense of the word." Charles Wesley had not been aware of the ceremony; when he learned of it, he showed his

disapproval in an epigram which has long outlasted the occasion.

So easily are bishops made

• By man or woman's whim.

Wesley, his hands on Coke hath laid

But who laid hands on him? (Italics mine.)

(See *New International Encyclopedia*, "Thos. Coke,"
Vol. V, page 565).

CHAPTER VI

EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM

WITH the drawing of a constitution for the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, the debt of modern America to that church begins. It is well to see what we owe to the extreme patriotism of those early preachers, and whether any obligation exists to permit their opinions to have political control today. If they devoted themselves so heartily to the cause of the Colonies when the struggle came between us and the mother country, we certainly should find a reason there for allowing them to manage the child, now that it is passing through its adolescent years.

According to Methodist historians the first Methodist preaching in this country was by Philip Embury and Barbara Heck, who were of the German Protestant stock which furnished the Lutheran colonists to Georgia. Their people, when driven out of the German Palatinate, had sought refuge in Ireland, where they had been influenced by Wesley's itinerant preachers. They were converted to Methodism, and emigrated to New York with others of the German refugees, to whom they began preaching.

The emotionalism of the new religion appealed strongly to the colonists. Strawbridge, Williams, and King were among its early preachers to meet with great success in Maryland and Virginia. The most interesting of all these early preachers in America was Captain

Thomas Webb. He was very human, and understood the colonist of all classes far better than did the others. He was converted by John Wesley's own preaching in 1759. Authorized by Wesley he had preached occasionally in England, this preaching being voluntary, for, though not rich, he had independent means. He was not sent by Wesley to preach in America, but came as a regular army officer, ordered to duty in New York, where he did his first American preaching. He was mainly responsible for raising funds by subscription for buying property in John Street and, assisted by Philip Embury and Barbara Heck, with building there the first Methodist chapel or preaching house, where he became a popular preacher. The John Street Methodist Episcopal Church now occupies this site which is looked upon as the cradle of American Methodism. Webb is described as short in stature and very stout, having a ruddy complexion and a "bull-like bellow." His services were well attended, he had a wide acquaintance with the better class colonists, who received him socially in their homes. Due to his disabilities his service in the army was not active and he had plenty of time to devote to his religious services. He always appeared in the pulpit with his sword under his crippled arm, and placed it beside the Bible on the lectern during his discourses. With his crippled arm, the green patch over one eye, red complexion matching red coat, he was a picturesque if not beautiful figure when leading the devotions, and he "gave 'em Hell" with a more colorful vocabulary than that of most of his confreres. Experience had given him a much larger collection of both colloquial and biblical words. He never made use of hysterical fits in preach-

ing, nor did he have visions or perform miracles as did his more ignorant brethren.

Captain Webb evidently had the restless disposition so general in new countries. He preached in and around New York, on Long Island, through New Jersey, into Delaware, and was the first to preach a Methodist sermon in Philadelphia, where afterwards Methodism in its purity became the most popular form of religion.

One can understand why Webb, an officer in the king's army did not sympathize with the American Colonists in their fight to free themselves from the Crown. It is more difficult to understand why this attitude was reflected by all the prominent Methodist preachers of the time. They ceased their preaching at the breaking out of hostilities, both those who of their own accord labored so militantly for the increase of Methodist converts in America, and those, excepting one, sent over by Wesley, who left the country as soon as they safely could. That the patriotic Americans of the time suspected them of Toryism is true, and cannot be refuted, although every Methodist historian has endeavored to disprove the fact.

An oath of loyalty would not have compelled these preachers to fight, had their principles been against it. In the first place no attempt was made to extract such an oath except in cases where the loyalty of the person concerned was doubted. Moreover, having taken such an oath, Methodist ministers could have done what those of other denominations did, serve as chaplains to sick and dying American soldiers, the same men that they had labored so hard to convert before the breaking out of hostilities.

All of the early preachers of Methodism in America

were so successful that Wesley began to see that he was overlooking a good bet. He was no longer interested in colonization, but he was always interested in making converts and collections, and young America was providing a rich harvest. He sent Richard Boardman, as the first preacher authorized by him and sent at Methodist expense, in 1769, and he was followed in 1771 by the great Francis Asbury and Richard Wright.

To Francis Asbury, as an American influence, justice can not be done in a volume that considers other characters, but as full treatment has been given him in Herbert Asbury's *An American Saint* we must satisfy ourselves with touching a few high lights in his character, to see whether we care to be led by the present generation of his ilk.

Few details of Asbury's youth are available in encyclopedic sources, but many Methodist historians have devoted attention to his entire life. His family was poor and he had no educational advantages. Of timid and egocentric disposition, the earliest influence in his life was that of his mother, who was an emotionalist and a fanatic in religious matters. Converted before he was fourteen, he at once began to testify at home meetings, retailing his marvelous experiences in grace. Before he was seventeen he began to preach in Methodist meeting houses, and by the time he was nineteen he had quite a reputation.

His local success aroused his ambition for a larger field, and recognizing a handicap in his lack of education, he began to read for self-improvement. He went to London in 1767 and, after being tried out by Wesley as a helper, was given in 1769 at the age of twenty-two, the position of assistant to the man in charge of a circuit.

Even then he had ambition to be "boss," and the historian, Atkinson, records that he was reproved by his superior for trying to usurp authority.

As the news spread throughout English Methodism of the success of their missionaries in America, Asbury, sensing greater success for himself in that less educated field, applied for a position there in 1771. He had made a good impression on Wesley, both by his practicability as an organizer and his eloquence as an impassioned pleader, so the great leader appointed him as missionary preacher to the American colonists, and sent him, with Richard Wright, to gain converts in America.

Wesley had placed Richard Boardman in authority over all the American preachers, but one year after young Asbury's arrival he promoted him to that position, starting trouble at once because of the obnoxious manner in which the young enthusiast exercised his authority. Many complaints came to Wesley about this religious bossism, but Asbury was a canny politician, and kept the upper hand by the old dodge of playing one opponent against the other, and making favorites of those who supported him.

Captain Webb, on a visit to England, explained to Wesley how Asbury's ambitious bossism and lack of disciplinary experience had caused nothing but trouble in America. Webb's advice was the deciding factor in Wesley's determination to make a change, and he sent Thomas Rankin to supplant Asbury in 1773. Unfortunately the dissensions continued among the leaders of Methodist holiness and brotherly love, each with his "personal call from the Lord," until Wesley deemed it advisable to write telling Asbury to return to England.

In reading the pious language of the published portions of the Asbury Journals one cannot fail to see that the Methodist machine was not running smoothly in 1774-75. Although couched in different language, the early Methodist leaders in America played the game for religious leadership much as leaders in party politics play for power today.

Meanwhile the political differences between the colonies and the British government were simmering, and they boiled over with the battle of Lexington in 1775. Wesley's Tory attitude was unmistakable, as shown by his bitter and sarcastic denunciation of all patriotic Americans after this battle. Having read of his experience as missionary to Georgia as told by Methodist historians, it is difficult to understand what changed his opinions, as at first he seemed kindly to the Colonists during that period of Tory political bitterness. It is quite impossible, however, to understand these tales of John Wesley's "love of liberty" and his "kindly feeling" for his "poor sheep" in America, when we have read *A Calm Address to the American Colonies* by the Rev. John Wesley, which he sent them in pamphlet form. This pamphlet was published in England, and thousands of copies were sold, but it was soon found out that this literary effort was one of Wesley's "adaptations." It was merely an abridgement of Dr. Johnson's pamphlet *Taxation no Tyranny*, which Wesley, with his habitual plagiaristic tendencies had taken over with very little change and adopted as his own, printing it under his own name, and giving no credit to the author. The plagiarism was so recent and so barefaced that Wesley was compelled to

acknowledge it himself in a second edition of which several thousand more copies were sold.

Wesley's attitude during the whole conflict as shown in his own writings was antagonistic to American liberty, and he hoped that the American leaders would be punished as traitors when defeated, as he fully expected that they would be. That he had this expectation quite to the end of the war, whose outcome he could not understand, is made obvious by Dr. Faulkner who wrote: "The societies in America, Wesley said, are now at full liberty to follow the scriptures and the primitive Church, and we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty, wherewith God *has so strangely made them free*" (italics are mine).

That Wesley should have taken this position was not unnatural, as an Englishman whose only experience in the colonies had been short and none too pleasant. The strange thing is that his followers, beginning a few years after the war and keeping it up until the present time, should try to present him as a sympathizer with the Colonists in their fight for autonomy.

Francis Asbury chafed under Rankin's authority in America where he himself had been in supreme control, subject only to John Wesley, with a wide ocean between him and his superior. Rankin exercised his power with the utmost strictness, and was particularly dictatorial with Asbury, harrowing the spirit of that pious soul, and Wesley's letter requesting his return to England contained no soothing lotion. Consequently when all the other preachers decided to leave the conflict-ridden territory we find Asbury deciding to remain. Possibly, as we are informed by his journals, this decision was made be-

cause of his love for his "poor sheep," but if so why was his first care for their shepherd? Perhaps, as has also been claimed, he foresaw the triumph of American liberty. In that case why did he not take the oath of allegiance at once, and busy himself caring for the sick and dying soldiers, some of whom were doubtless of his own flock?

A condensed biography of Asbury by Dr. George P. Mains, who was connected officially with the Methodist Book Concern, was "*Francis Asbury*," first edition published in 1909. The introduction, written by Bishop Daniel A. Goodsell says: "He lived with the richest and poorest of the Colonists. He remained; though a loyal Englishman, with his flock during the eight years of the Revolution; *neither hiding nor obtruding himself, but waiting to see the will of God, while nearly all his English-born co-workers went to England or to the provinces*" (italics are mine). This is the Methodist style of saying that, as the first Methodist politician in the country, Asbury "sat on the fence to see which way the cat would jump." We later learn from Dr. Mains that he hid in a swamp until his own skin was safe. Dr. Mains outlines the position of the societies at the same time as follows:

The period of the Revolutionary War was one of grief, destruction, and peril to the Methodist movement. Unfortunately the impression came widely to prevail that the Methodists, as such, were largely "Tory" in their sympathies. It is to be remembered that nearly all the early evangelists in this movement were English (Query—What nationality were nearly all the American colonists?), and that their personal loyalty very naturally arrayed them with the mother country. Much use was also made of an article

by Mr. Wesley entitled "A Calm Address to Our American Colonies." While the intention of this address was prompted only by good purpose on the part of Mr. Wesley, its publication was doubtless unfortunate in its effects upon the interests of American Methodism. It was skillfully used to foment a popular disfavor towards Methodists as disloyal to the American cause; a final fact which seemed to lend confirmation to this popular complaint was the withdrawal from the country of all the English Methodist preachers save Asbury.

That apparently is as far as Dr. Mains cares to go in striving to prove that the early preachers of his church were patriots. Of Asbury he goes on to say:

Thus it ensued that this heroic man, of all the English preachers, alone remained in this country to shepherd the flocks, smitten and scattered by the alarms of war. But he was by no means to escape popular accusation and even persecution, as arising from the false view that Methodists were disloyal Americans. In one place he was arrested and fined £5 for preaching the gospel. He was again shot at, the ball passing through his chaise, but the bullet missed its mark.

This "persecution" would lead us to believe that the judiciary of colonial days believed that Asbury's preaching was neither patriotic nor beneficial. Twenty-five dollars must have been a pretty severe fine in those days. The "false view" that Asbury was not a patriotic citizen must have been then, as now, generally prevalent. Certainly he did not care to give any spectacular evidence of his patriotic feeling. Further we are justified in assuming that a possible reason for his determined stay in an unwelcoming community was the fact that he could not have expected a much heartier welcome from John Wesley, had he returned to England at this time.

We know that as a youth he believed that he had "a call" to Methodism as conceived by Wesley. As he grew older and recognized the powerful effect of his gift of emotional eloquence on the uneducated class that largely made up his audiences, he became fired with ambition for preferment in the huge organization that was being built up through Wesley's peculiar adaptive abilities. He realized that the American field offered him the best opportunity to achieve highest preferment, which he now constantly craved, since he had for a short period exercised complete control in American Methodism. Is it not probable that he would run considerable risk to stay in the country where he hoped for preeminence, rather than return to England where he knew that it was impossible that he should hold first place among Methodists, and unlikely, after his insubordination to Wesley, that he should occupy a place of any importance at all in the organization.

More interesting light on Asbury's patriotic attitude is given by his warm admirer, Dr. Mains:

Asbury, though favorably disposed to the Colonial cause, found himself unable to remain in Maryland. The test oath of this state required a pledge to take up arms if called upon to do so. Asbury felt that as a preacher of the gospel he could not conscientiously subscribe personally to this oath. He therefore *found it necessary to retire for a time from public activities*, spending most of his time in the State of Delaware, in the home of his friend, Judge Thomas White. During this period, while it was unsafe for him to speak in public, he occupied himself, in diligent study, in meeting small companies of people in private homes and in instructing the children. *But even then his generous host was arrested for aiding the enemies of America, and Asbury himself was temporarily forced to take refuge in the swamps, where he*

says in his journal his condition reminded him of "some of the old prophets who were concealed in times of distress" (all italics are mine).

It was at this time that the defeat and surrender of Burgoyne's army to General Gates put new life into the American cause, not only because thereby England lost an entire army, but also that it gave the European powers their first strong intimation that they might soon have a new country with which to deal in international relations. The opinion in America became optimistic, and aid from the French, the abandonment of Philadelphia by Sir Henry Clinton, together with minor victories, made for a strong feeling at home and abroad that the Colonies were going to gain their freedom. It now seemed almost certain which way the cat would jump, and Asbury could safely descend from his perch on the fence.

The "*opportune discovery*" of a letter about this time effected an improvement in Asbury's living conditions, proving as it did, that he now saw more clearly than ever his "call" to these American "sheep." Let us allow Dr. Mains once more to give the Methodist angle of this incident. He says:

A fact which contributed greatly to the better treatment of Asbury and his brethren was the discovery in 1779 of a letter written by Asbury to Rankin in which he gave it as his opinion that the Americans would be a free and independent nation, that he was too much knit in affection to many of them to leave them, and that Methodist preachers had a great work to do under God in this country. This letter fell into the hands of American officers and produced a marked change in their opinion toward him. In the meantime, however, the passing period was one of great damage to the cause of Methodism. Preachers found much diffi-

culty in keeping their stations, and some had to abandon them altogether, and not a few of the classes were entirely broken up.

Dr. Mains then quotes another Methodist historian, Abel Stevens, 1818-1897, *New International Encyclopedia*, Vol. XXI, page 518, for biography. See *Historical Magazine* in Appendix, for literary style:

Protected by his influential friends, Asbury was at last enabled to emerge out of his comparative obscurity in Delaware, after spending there two years and one month. He came forth a hero of American Methodist history, through all the remainder of his life. He had been found faithful when all his British associates had retreated from the stormy arena. (The author wishes it understood that he quotes so fully from Dr. Mains in order to illustrate the Methodist idea of loyalty, and cannot be held responsible for split infinitives and other eccentricities in the use of English.)

Soon after his emergence "from his comparative obscurity in Delaware," Asbury began his first preaching which aimed to make Prohibition a religious issue. He preached to Methodists against distilling and selling alcoholic liquor. Some of the other Methodist preachers were at the time actively engaged in this trade. Asbury himself used alcohol as a beverage, but he drank it for "medicinal purposes" in the form of ale. At the Conference of 1780 he secured this addition to the Discipline—"Question 23—Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor? Shall we disown our friends who will not renounce this practice? Answer. Yes."

While Asbury was the first preacher in America to make prohibition a religious issue, he preached the doctrine for Methodists only, and continued that policy until the end of his life, thus falling short of the ideals of pres-

ent day leaders of the cult, who are not satisfied with leading their own followers, but as "The Church in Action" intend to be obeyed by the entire country. This issue has been preached steadily from Methodist pulpits since Asbury first brought it forward, and with increasing bitterness of invective as the campaign was made to include those not of the Methodist faith.

We may well consider Francis Asbury, the Methodist hero of Prohibition as well as of the Revolution, and he is well honored with an impressive statue in Washington, a city replete with statues of men heroic in war, statesmanship, and church activities, none more striking than the one to "Francis Asbury, 1745-1816. Pioneer Methodist Bishop in America."

The real beginning of Francis Asbury's supremacy in the church, as also the beginning of a formidable strength in organized numbers which the Methodist Episcopal Church in America owed to his executive ability, came after the War of the Revolution, when Wesley sent Coke to America. Coke came to ordain Asbury as "Joint Superintendent" of the Church in the newborn United States of America, and brought with him a new set of rules and regulations which Wesley had "adapted" for the reorganization of the American branch of Methodism. "The catholicity of the new Church was shown by Wesley's method in regard to both doctrine and discipline. Everything of a sectarian nature was stricken out of the thirty-nine articles so that, as they left Wesley's hands, they could be subscribed to by almost any evangelical Christian. Nor did he insert any of his own teachings. His design was to provide a generous platform on which all who loved the Lord could

rally" ("Methodism" in *New International Encyclopedia*).

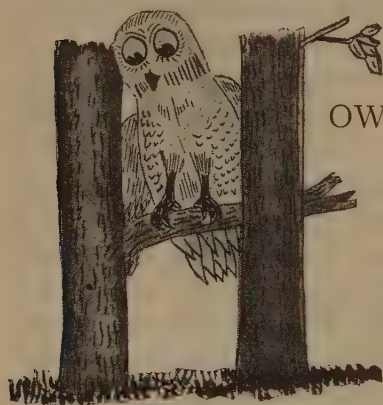
Wide leeway was given, as to the necessity for baptism, and its forms of administration, and also as to the form for administering the sacraments, so that no one previously converted to other denominations could possibly be offended. "Nor were people required at first to give up membership in their own church in order to become Methodists; so long as they complied with our rules they were to have full liberty of attending their own churches."

This last quotation from the same source goes to show that John Wesley, nearly fifty years after his study of Moravian doctrine, still believed that the "Diaspora" was sound in principle. That the "Exclusive System" from the same source was firmly welded on to American Methodism we find by reading,—“On the other hand, no one could be admitted to communion but members of the society, or such as had received tickets from the preacher. Members who neglected their class meetings were liable to expulsion.”

The general plan of organization in America remained the same as in England. Though in its inception Methodism was distinctly an Episcopalian movement, the corner stone of the organization was "Oversight" taken bodily from the Jesuits. Wesley made of "Oversight" an exact science. "Over the classes were the leaders; over both were the preachers, assisted in out-appointments by local preachers who were laymen with the gift of public address and from whom the itinerants were recruited. Each preacher had his circuit, and several circuit preachers were under a head (whence arose

the district, and in North America, the presiding elder). There were quarterly and district conferences, composed of clergymen and lay preachers. Finally over the whole movement was John Wesley himself in England."

When Thomas Coke presented these olive branches to the Baltimore Conference of 1784, and proceeded to make, though he was not aware of it himself, Bishop Asbury the head of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, the effect of Wesley's American rules was that "the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church was completely in the hands of the preachers who received their appointments *annually* from the Superintendents (Bishops) *who were thus invested with large legal and indefinite moral power.*"* With this machinery ready to his hand it is no wonder that Asbury, already an experienced politician, should soon be in complete control.



OW CAN
WE BE
SURPRISED
IN VIEW OF WHAT
HAS BEEN ADDUCED,

to find the Rev. John Wesley writing in terms like the following:

* This statement is Dr. Faulkner's, not mine. See *New International Encyclopedia* under "Methodism." Italics are mine. We know today how the bishops take advantage of this rule.

LONDON, Sept. 20, 1788.

There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relations wherein you stand to the Americans and the relations wherein I stand to all Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists; I am, under God, the father of the whole family. Therefore, I, in a measure provide for you all; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you he could not provide were it not for me—were it not that I not only permit him to collect, but also support him in so doing. But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid, both the Doctor and you differ from me—I study to be little—you study to be great. I creep, you strut along. I found a school; you a college! Nay, and call it after your own name! Oh, beware! Do not seek to be something! Let me be nothing, and “Christ all in all!” One instance of this, of your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent call me a bishop. For my sake, for God’s sake, for Christ’s sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better. Thus, my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart, and let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am your affectionate friend and brother*

(Signed) JOHN WESLEY.

Those who have followed these condensed historical references, will, I believe, agree that Methodism did not, like some other forms of worship, have its inception in any outstanding fundamental, which revolutionized the manner of worshipping God, changing it entirely from the way his worship had previously been conducted. The conclusion that Methodism on the one side is synonymous

* *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, A. M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Vol. XIII, (Third Edition), Page 58—Published in London, 1831.

with efficient organization, and on the other side with emotionalism, is justified.

Adaptation has been the keynote of the organization since the time when John Wesley, the sole leader of the movement, adapted the rules for the American Methodists. The example of the founder as an adept adapter, always with the purpose of increasing the numbers of his flock and his own sole control, has been followed throughout the entire capable organization of the church for the proselyting of new members and the collection of funds for this and all other church activities. We know, in a general way, how the organization had gradually been perfected by the successive adaptations of its American leaders since Wesley's time, to keep the power in the hands of a few men and to enable them to carry on all those activities both within and without the "flock" which these various leaders have felt there was a "call" for them to undertake.

No one questions the right of any form of religion in America to worship as its adherents may please, within the bounds of decency. That is one of the liberties guaranteed by our Constitution, and less likely to be repealed by amendment than some of the others have been. There has never been more than casual interest taken in the leadership of any religious organization. How it was obtained, how conducted, how perpetuated, has never been considered the business of anyone outside the membership of any body which has been organized for religious purposes only. So long as their activity is purely spiritual and ethical no one has a right either to question or condemn it. Their beliefs are strictly their own business.

But when such organizations make tremendous growth, and collect huge funds which are spent to permeate the body politic with their non-religious ideas it is everybody's business.

CHAPTER VII

MODERN METHODISM

WE have learned that Methodists, as individuals, "have always been thoroughly alive to popular right" and ready to "devote themselves to secular betterments." Because of the methods of organization adapted by Wesley and his followers, Methodists have inherited, more than the politicians of other religious denominations, an aptitude for practical politics, and they make full use of this aptitude, both as organizations and as individuals. Before going further I wish to state that any derogatory remarks that I may make about Methodists in politics refer to those leaders who have made themselves prominent, and in some circles, notorious, by their low grade political actions, and I do not imply that every Methodist is tarred with the same brush. I have warm Methodist friends myself, who are completely honorable men. Washington Pezet (*Forum*, Oct., 1926, page 487—"The Temporal Power of Evangelism") has called attention to the fact that Judge Lamar, in reply to whose charges the leaders of the Methodist Church have been compelled to do considerable explaining, is himself a Methodist. The legal adviser of the Association against Prohibition is also a Methodist: While State Senator Nixon of North Carolina (see *Washington Post*, April 2, 1928) has recently demanded that his name be removed from the rolls of the Methodist Episcopal Church; his

reason being that it has degenerated into a fighting political machine that will soon follow the Populists and Know Nothings into the oblivion of unsound political parties. There are many Methodist pastors and laymen who do not indulge in the intolerance flaunted by the leaders of the "Church Militant."

There are localities in this country in which the predominance of Methodism is noticeable, where Methodist politicians are practically in control. I should like to know whether anyone can point to any state, city, or town in this country where Methodists are in the majority, and say that the political methods they use are on a higher plane than the average, their political campaigns more conspicuous for brotherly love, or that general political conditions are more clean and pure than in localities not so highly favored. On the one side the cities or states taken for these comparisons may be chosen from those whose governments are or are not in the control of any particular religious denomination, but which are censured by Methodist politicians, who claim that they are so controlled. On the other side any of those pure States North or South or any sections of them where Methodism alone, or Methodism and Klanism are found working together for purity, may be taken for their examples.

The "militancy" of the Methodist Church in the Revolutionary war has been cited. In our Civil War, much the same sort of militancy was in evidence, that is, it was political militancy which occupied the leaders of the church rather than any great participation in the actual fighting. The Methodist Episcopal Church was naturally rent in two, as were most of the churches. Nothing else could be expected in a war that split families, setting

brother against brother, and fathers against their sons. But the Methodist rather outdid the other sects in vituperation, and the animosity of the Methodists North, as displayed in the politics of the period was of the most virulent form. The vilification of General Lee and of their own Methodist brethren, South, was scandalous.

General Grant was hampered, immediately after his victory over General Lee, in his desire to help the defeated South to rehabilitate itself. In all the dark days of reconstruction after the actual fighting was over, the invective in political speech and literature caused more bitterness in the South than was ever in evidence during the fighting. Grant was president during some of the reconstruction years, and that the Methodists were not only not innocent of participation in the general political degradation of the time, but that they led it, is proved by his statement that "In the United States there are three political parties, the Republican, the Democratic *and the Methodist Church*" (*italics are mine*).

Methodist militancy was conspicuously displayed in the Great War by that political leadership which insisted on tacking a prohibition amendment to every vital legislative measure for the prosecution of the war, the Methodists, like the profiteers, planning to use the country's distress, in fact the distress of the entire world, to forward their own ends.

Since the war this style of militancy of the "Church Militant" has again been manifested. In one of the convocations of leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Churches it was recently voted 76 to 37 "to give no official aid to the Government in a future war, but to stand on a platform of passive resistance."

These are the people who hurl charges of "treason" today at the men and women who disagree with them in the matter of prohibition by law. It is apropos of these cries of treason that I include in my appendix photostatic reprints of a controversy which took place shortly after the close of the Civil War (1866-67) between Henry P. Dawson, editor and publisher of *The Historical Magazine* and Abel Stevens, editor of *The Methodist Magazine* and at that time the accredited spokesman of the Methodist Church. I also quote from "Lost Chapter."

My first presidential vote was cast for James G. Blaine in 1884. This was the first presidential campaign in which the religious leaders of some of the denominations took a very active part, and it was also the first presidential campaign that was foully dirty.

Some of the religious leaders at that time made politics a religious issue and denounced from their pulpits the motives and, more emphatically, the characters of the leaders of the parties to which they were opposed. Then as now, the Methodists were the noisiest in their denunciations. A whispering campaign was started to detail scandal about one of the two presidential candidates, but long before the campaign was over the whisper had deepened to a roar. That campaign; the first in which the churches took much action, caused such a stench that decent people turned away in disgust. Many ceased from that time to take any further interest in voting, and many more, comprising a large part of the better class of citizenship, though still casting their votes, "did not choose to run" for any political office, because of the language used from the pulpits to besmirch the characters of men running for the highest position in our government.

In the beginning the attacks started by the Methodists against the liquor traffic were aimed at the saloon. The distiller was not often mentioned, and the "drinker of drams" was practically immune from bombardment. When the Anti-Saloon League came into being in Oberlin, it was, as its name implied, an organization for the promotion of temperance, which had for its object the elimination of badly conducted saloons in Ohio. This was an object in which they would have had the sympathy of many of those connected with the liquor traffic, then and at all times during the struggle.

The organizers of the League were church people, and while some of them were not Methodists, the Methodists of the state soon became much interested in the organization, and busied themselves especially in its political activities.

The Inside Story of Prohibition's Adoption, by Wayne B. Wheeler gives only surface indication of the various means employed by this Methodist-directed organization. Wheeler was a Methodist himself and was well-versed in the policy that the end justifies the means. It was not until the Methodist Episcopal Church endorsed the League that these tactics became generally known and the "Liquor Traffic" was compelled to form a national organization to combat ferocious propaganda.

When the "church" leaders endorsed the Anti-Saloon League, they indicated their hypocrisy by a minute which they added to their Discipline at that time, which read "We recognize that the Church, as an ecclesiastical body, may not properly go into partisan politics, nor assume to control the franchise of the nation." This, however, is exactly what they immediately proceeded to do under

the banner of the Anti-Saloon League, which then first began to issue its publicity as the "Church in Action." We who were in the liquor business were surprised, and at first could not believe that such strategy as they employed could be used in politics by those who professed religion at all, and especially by those who claimed for themselves the greatest possible degree of piety.

Because of this Methodist endorsement, the Anti-Saloon League rapidly gained power, and became peculiarly fitted to look after the political management of the "temperance question," as the Methodist saw it, throughout the country. It was at about this time, also that the issue became dignified by the epithets "Wet" and "Dry." The "Dry" forces were not yet ready to unmask their complete ambition and the real goal toward which they were working, and prohibition did not mean when it was first started what it signifies to all of us now. (*New International Encyclopedia*, "Anti-Saloon League," Vol. I, page 780). "The remarkable wave of prohibition which swept over the Southern States in the first years of the twentieth century received its impetus largely from the work of the league."

The dry vote was gained in the South by political methods better understood now, and while the eighteenth amendment is no better enforced there than the fourteenth and fifteenth, "likker" costs them more now, and is not so good as formerly. We understand in the North, as well as they do in the South, that efforts to secure this "remarkable wave of prohibition" were greatly aided by the fact that the Methodist Church North, disguised as the Anti-Saloon League, could now work with the Methodist Church South, with old antagonisms forgotten. We

knew, also, that though the Anti-Saloon League was endorsed by other than Methodist denominations, and vice-presidents who were not Methodist were elected, these endorsements meant only that the pulpits of other churches were turned over, ever and anon, to League workers for the collection of funds. Agents of the League on such occasions used great care not to injure the feelings of "drinkers of drams," and confined themselves almost entirely to the abuse of the saloon.

The League has always been a remarkable collector of funds. The most amusing case of their efficiency of which I ever heard was an experience of one of my most intimate friends, a wholesaler of fine liquors. On returning home after a trip, while trying to help his wife straighten her accounts, he found a check stub marked "on account of pledge," and upon investigating, discovered that, moved by the eloquence of one of their agents, his wife had pledged a considerable sum to the Anti-Saloon League. The fact that this agent's commission was fifty per cent of each pledge doubtless helped make him so persuasive that he could talk funds out of the very family of "demon rum" to use in battle with said demon.

Personally, I was not likely to come under the spell of this eloquence. My pastor was often my golf partner, and he "tipped me off" when his pulpit was going to be given over to an Anti-Saloon League plea for funds, on a fifty-fifty basis for the agent. He gave up his pulpit on these occasions, not because he so desired, but because he was so ordered.

Not all of the collectors for the League were satisfied with the way this "living off the country" worked out. In Missouri, a local preacher sued his superintendent be-

cause he did not make as much as he thought he should from the arrangement. This man had been getting a very small salary, and seldom collecting all of it, when he was offered something like \$1,500 to work for the Anti-Saloon League on the fifty-fifty plan. He was satisfied with the plan, and positive that he could make the money, if allowed the chance. The suit was brought because he claimed that the superintendent kept all the good churches for himself, and to him assigned only the poor ones, whose members did not know what a "silver offering" was.

The methods approved by Wayne B. Wheeler, while head of the Anti-Saloon League, as calculated to "build fires under them at home," are well illustrated in the sworn testimony of John T. Frey, president of the Ohio State Federation of Labor in the Senate Hearings of 1926 (See footnote, pages 230-239 of Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary on certain bills to amend the National Prohibition Act). Mr. Frey told of the hiring of women to "lure men to their destruction" in order to get liquor violation evidence. Wheeler not only followed the example set by early Methodists (Dawson's *Historical Magazine*) of "blowing up the flames, he started the fires."

Here is testimony from Senate Hearings:

Mr. FREY. I am bringing these matters before the committee to show the disregard for law which is developing and which I consider to be one of the most serious features connected with the Volstead Act and the eighteenth amendment.

Senator REED. Did those cases show that there had been large amounts of money paid and cut up between the prohibition officers and the bootleggers or the men engaged with them?

MR. FREY. The evidence, Senator, showed that there had been a continued split of money going on all the way down from the Federal commissioner of prohibition in the State of Ohio to the constables in the magistrates' courts who, like pirates, go into other communities and break into homes without a warrant—and some have been found guilty even of planting evidence to get a case—and hauling men before a magistrate's court outside of the jurisdiction in which the accused lived, where he was fined, and splitting the fines between the magistrate and the arresting constable. I am bringing up these facts so that you may the better understand the reasons for this disregard for the law which is developing in Ohio.

In addition to the condition which exists in Ohio of this growing disregard for authority and law I find entering into that feeling this other element, that there is a growing feeling of dissatisfaction and a certain amount of disrespect toward those religious leaders who are abandoning the appeal to men's consciences, who are abandoning methods of education and are apparently admitting that these methods are not bringing the results they want and so are appealing to the strong arm of the law to regulate personal habits and customs.

A short time ago we had in Ohio, in Westerville, the home of the Anti-Saloon League, a condition which this committee should be familiar with.

A deputy State commissioner of prohibition, Mr. S. A. Probst, with two of his assistants, for some reason or other desired to secure the conviction of the city marshal, a man named Harry M. Nutt, and they used some of those methods which helped to bring the Anti-Saloon League and the Volstead Act into more or less contempt and disrepute. It has been discovered that Mr. Probst, who has been compelled to resign, and these deputies, who also have been compelled to resign, resorted to using women as a lure in order to secure convictions. One of these women, who has been receiving her expenses and her salary from the State of Ohio, a rather good-looking young woman, went to Westerville, stopped at the hotel, used those blandishments with which she was endowed by nature, and made an appointment with the city mar-

shal, one of the requisites to the appointment being that he should supply some liquor.

Mr. Probst and his deputies, after the plan had been made, followed behind in an automobile, and practically broke into the room where the marshal was, expecting to find some liquor. No liquor was found. The evidence brought out before the Governor of the State showed that not only had this woman been used as a lure to bring men to their moral destruction so that the state prohibition forces could find a liquor case but that she also had another—there were two women used as lures, leading men to destruction so that these enforcement officers could make some kind of showing.

Wheeler, as well as other dry leaders, was always too willing to use the names of prominent men as believers in prohibition without sufficient authority. In his *Inside Story* Wheeler makes such use of the name of Roosevelt, while "Archie" Butt's letters would tend to prove that Roosevelt's attitude was quite the opposite. I quote from Letter III of *The Letters of Archie Butt-Abbot*. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York:

Wednesday I lunched at the White House . . . We had simple food and a good Rhine wine cup. He (President Roosevelt) said it always amused him to have big temperance leaders dine with him, for he always made it a point to give them something to drink, and that while they usually partook of it, he invariably noticed at their conferences, such as the one now in Baltimore, they calmed their conscience by protesting against the bibulous habits at the Capital.

"Archie" Butt's character was such that no Methodist preacher, no matter how fanatical, will dare disparage it.

There are two more statements in the inside story to which I shall call attention, though if I had time and

space I would like to analyze it statement by statement: Wheeler says:

Members of congress called attention to the fact that states adopting prohibition had always given the liquor dealers from six months to a year to wind up their affairs, turn the corner and head in another direction. "Why," they said, "shouldn't the same thing be done in the case of national prohibition?" There was no very good answer to this argument so we traded jack-knives with them. We agreed that we would stand for a year's time after ratification before the amendment should become effective, if, on the other hand, they would add a year's time to the six years' vote by the Senate as the time limit for ratification. That gave seven years for ratification and one year for the amendment to take effect. In that form the measure was adopted by the House.

The way they kept their agreement was to pass the War Time Prohibition Bill for the conservation of food, and that was rushed through at a night session immediately after the prohibition of sale of liquor was tacked on to that bill and was the real reason for its passage; instead of a year, as promised, we were allowed but six months. We liquor merchants carried stock for the last six months of that year and expected, as promised by these Methodist leaders directing the fight against us, that we would have a full year to collect our outstanding accounts. They cut off six months of that promise without giving us any notice whatever. We were not allowed to pay duty on imported spirits nor taxes on bonded whiskey. Nor were we allowed to sell. We could not collect money owing to us, and were informed that "it served us right." I, for one, own some of that stock yet, which I am not allowed to sell out, which I could have sold easily had I not believed the Methodist promises, and expected them to play square in keeping their side of an agreement, when

they had obtained what they wanted for making it. It is obvious that none of these leaders was interested in sports as boys. Not one of them learned the principles of fair play; and the trading of jack-knives, of which Wheeler was so proud, was a great deal more like the horse trade of tradition. *Caveat emptor*, if the seller is a Methodist.

My other quotation from Wheeler's *Inside Story* is an illustration of the hypocrisy which has caused much of the ill-feeling against religious Methodism since its beginnings under the adaptive Wesley, and which is beginning to waken the resentment of the country against *political* Methodism, and its manipulation of state and federal campaigns to secure legislative control.

Some members of Congress who voted in favor of submitting the amendments to the States opposed national prohibition *per se*. To these we pointed out that Congress was not being asked to prohibit the liquor traffic in the United States. All we asked, *we told them*, was that they give the States a chance to say whether the traffic should be prohibited; if three-fourths of the States wanted it prohibited, surely, we argued, the remaining twelve States should not prevent Prohibition from going into the Federal Constitution.

That brought up squarely in conflict with the ideas of men like the late Senator LaFollette. LaFollette believed thoroughly in the popular referendum. "Let the people rule," was his principle. Naturally, we presented to him as strongly as possible the argument that his political creed indicated clearly the only course he could consistently follow. That was to submit the proposal to the States, and then, if he didn't favor national prohibition, he would have an opportunity to go back to Wisconsin and defeat the proposal in his own State, also in other States.

Senator LaFollette saw the logic of this argument and voted to submit the amendment, but he and one or two others made

speeches against national prohibition on the floor of the Senate when they voted to submit.

The joker in this was—the Legislatures were already fixed by hypocritical State Prohibition. Wayne Wheeler knew that, as he had fixed them.

Our short survey of "Methodism and its methods" is now brought down to the present, and each reader may look about him and pick out more reading matter than he can manage from which to draw his own conclusions. The material put forth by the Methodists themselves is the most damning to be found in regard to the intention of the present leaders of this church, backed by a few rabid zealots outside its membership, to rule and regulate this country, in all matters which can possibly be given a moral twist. They have taken over frankly the management of "temperance, prohibition and *public morals*" of our country, and he who reads their propaganda with seeing eyes can discern in what danger we will be within a few years of living in a Methodist-dominated country.

Probably the most widely read of the "Dry" books brought out since the passing of the prohibition acts is *Prohibition at Its Worst* by Professor Irving Fisher, published by Macmillan and sold by the Anti-Saloon League. Professor Fisher's arguments are based on the old and exploded slogan "Alcohol is a poison" and on the Corradini charts, which have since been proved to be valueless. The briefest and most thorough invalidation of the arguments in "Prohibition at Its Worst" are found in a booklet called *Anti-Saloon League Refuted* by E. Clemens Horst, and may be obtained by writing to the author, 235 Pine Street, San Francisco. The first edition

of this booklet was entitled *Professor Fisher Refuted*. Mr. Horst's reasons for changing the name for the second are illuminating. He says: "The title of the second edition has been changed to *Anti-Saloon League Refuted* because of the disclosures that the Anti-Saloon League attaches the names of men in prominent positions as authors of publicity that is, in fact, manufactured by the Anti-Saloon League, and because the so-called Professor Fisher's book not only has the Anti-Saloon League earmarks, but also because it is being advertised and sold by the Anti-Saloon League." The charts which Professor Fisher considered of the utmost importance in compiling his book have been so completely nullified that I think *Prohibition at Its Worst* is no longer used as a text-book except by the most illiterate of the preachers.

Prof. Fisher was known to be an ardent prohibitionist. As such he was drafted by the Anti-Saloon League to aid its political managers at Washington. The results of his work at the Capital are too well known to need recapitulation here. He, himself quotes with some degree of pride that part of Wayne Wheeler's speech before an Anti-Saloon League convention assembled at Atlantic City, Prof. Fisher also on the platform—Wayne Wheeler grabbed his hand, held it high and shouted, "This man, more than any other standing in shoe leather, is responsible for war-time prohibition." To prove that he stood high in the estimation of Anti-Saloon League political managers, and that they considered him their star witness, read his testimony at the Senate hearings (his cross examination by Senator Reed should also be read). Prof. Fisher, himself a Yale graduate, was a member of the faculty of that most respected university. That position

alone gave to his name a prominence as an educator, as it carried to every part of this country the undoubted authority of Yale, while his own attainment made him an authority among men of his own calling—economics. He has written numerous books on various subjects besides that of his chosen profession;—Dietetics and the League of Nations may be mentioned. But the style and treatment of his subject in parts of this *Prohibition at Its Worst* is so entirely different from the careful analysis of his previous literary work that even his best friends were surprised in reading, none more so than the Governing Board of Yale University.

The Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals has now taken the place of the Anti-Saloon League in the church and there is no longer any pretense that this church is not trying to interfere with the government by means of expensive lobbies at every state legislature, and at the national capital. Enormous sums of money are collected by this agency for minding everybody's business. Wayne Wheeler is dead, and is already beginning to wear a martyr's halo in Methodistic eyes. Doubtless if prohibition should ever become effective he will have as imposing a statue in Washington as has Francis Asbury, his model in fanaticism and hypocrisy. But just as there has always been a hand ready to take up the fallen weapons of the Wesleys and the Asburys, there are men of the same caliber as Wheeler to take up and carry on the work of Wheeler.

Already the godly men who do not believe in war have cut down the naval program approved by Secretary of the Navy Wilbur and by President Coolidge to such an extent that another great war would find us even more

unprepared than did the last. In the case of such a calamity the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals can rush in and save the world by tacking on to every-war measure a prohibition of tobacco, tea, coffee, and possibly fresh air for babies.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMPERANCE AND TOLERANCE

WHILE it has been necessary for me to say so much about the intolerance and fanaticism of certain church leaders, I wish to say, once more, that I do not believe that these traits go hand-in-hand with any true religious feeling. Hatred of evil may rightly be a religious precept, but hatred of men cannot be an essential of any true religion. Intolerance and fanaticism are nothing but the expressions of fear and hatred.

The Carrie Nation methods of fighting the "liquor evil" which were used in the law-abiding farming districts, and there considered legitimate, were the result of the teachings of the preachers of prohibition, who did not know the meaning of temperance. Temperance of speech they considered anything but a virtue. The Carrie Nation type of militancy was not tolerated in the cities. This does not mean that true temperance was not advocated from city pulpits. It was in these pulpits that the abuse of liquor had its most effective enemies, among pulpit orators of first class education, who understood both the spiritual values of religion and the conditions of city life to a degree quite impossible to men who had not had the same advantages.

Although not one single Methodist minister can be mentioned who ever advocated temperance by conviction

rather than prohibition by law, there were many in other denominations throughout the country who did, and among these were many pastors of the most important churches in the large cities. Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most famous and best beloved preachers this country has ever known, who was graduated from Amherst College at the age of seventeen, when pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, New York, said:

To attempt to create morality by law is of all things supremely and superbly foolish. In America, a law with no popular sentiment behind it, or with no active good will behind it, is like a gun with no powder in it.

Next comes the question of the right of the law to determine whether a man shall, or shall not drink. On that subject, I am in favor of men's not drinking—unless you tell them they shall not drink. And so, if any man, or any community were to say to me, "You shan't drink wine when you think it best," I would say, "I will," with no reason but to show that I am a free man. But if my physician should say to me, "It is not wholesome, it is mischievous for you," appealing to my reason and judgment, then I would say, "It is no matter, I will not."

If men should undertake to hold a rod over my head, and should say, "We will expose you to the contempt of the community and to disgrace if you drink wine;" I would say, "I do not care for the community; in a thing which concerns me the community shall not touch me, as I, in things which concern the whole community have no right to touch them."

I hold, therefore, that there is a personal liberty in this matter—a domain that must not be invaded by sarcasms, nor by sundry obvious influences brought to bear upon us. Leave to every man his personal and individual liberty. Diminish his temptation by persuasion, by good reasons, by kindly influence, but not by authority, nor by coercion. (From sermon delivered at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Dec. 3, 1882. Quoted by Hiram Maxim, Senate Hearings.)

William Stephens Rainsford, graduate of Cambridge University, England, one time assistant rector of St. James Cathedral, Toronto, was afterwards rector of Saint George's Church, New York, from 1883 until his resignation in 1903. He was a red-blooded man, and a mighty fighter for better social conditions in New York City, but he did not believe that prohibition was a religious issue. To escape from the acrimonious and maliciously false pulpit oratory the press published against him in that, the first era of yellow journalism, in search of peace and quiet he, like another red-blooded American citizen a few years later, went to Africa to shoot lions.

One more example of the many I might cite will serve to show that the wise and tolerant among clergymen suffer almost as much from their intolerant confreres as do those acknowledged evil doers, the friends of demon rum. Charles Henry Parkhurst, who is still living, also a graduate of Amherst, is a Presbyterian, and was for many years pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City. He was a great social reformer, and in 1891 he was made president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime. It was as the result of the investigations of this society into the conditions of crime existing in New York City that the State Legislature in 1894 appointed the Lexow and Mazet Committees.

Dr. Parkhurst stands out preeminently as one of the most sincere and at the same time most learned divines of any denomination in the New York of his time. He made a thorough study of the social conditions in the large and "wicked" city, and fought earnestly and successfully for the betterment of the conditions of the wage earners and for the suppression of crime. He knew

better than any other religious leader just how vicious were the saloons of New York and exactly what evils resulted from their existence. *He did not believe in Prohibition.* He was positive that prohibition by law was not a practical solution of the saloon problem, and though he worked constantly in the interests of temperance, he was outspoken in his protests that prohibition would not promote temperance. When prohibition was made into a religious issue by the Methodists, with the help of the more pharisaical of the other denominations, he was equally outspoken in his disbelief of this classification. For this reason he was censured, in his absence, and without being given any opportunity for defense by the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1915, largely composed of small-town ministers and laymen, who represented the intolerant sentiment which Methodists had created in the country districts, and knew nothing of the city conditions which Dr. Parkhurst had studied for so many years.

Intolerance can never forgive tolerance for existing. S. L. Strivings, master of the New York State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, and representing the National State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, said to have a membership of about one million, is fairly representative of the type of intelligence that never sees that any question has two sides, and condemns the intellect or the motives, or both, of anyone who does not agree with him. At the Senate Hearings he said:

We do get a sickly sentimentality from persons who slip their moorings through advancing years. The press quotes our esteemed Reverend Dr. Parkhurst as favoring the modification of our law touching wine and beer. We are sorry for the aged doctor. We find the press quoting Rev. Dr. James Empringham, of

WAS McKINLEY WALKER
 of the CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE
 of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH

the grand old Episcopal Church, as disgracing that fine body of men and women, by going back to a mess of pottage for which he had never lost the taste. It is pitiful that our fine church and fraternal bodies should, on occasion, be disgraced by their friends.

Mr. Striving, representing, as he says, about one million farmers, is the gentleman who assured the Sub-committee of the Judiciary that the people for whom he spoke would not stand for any modification of the Volstead act, particularly for any change in section 29, which provides that farmers can make all the cider they want, up to two hundred gallons per person per year, and that under a decision from the United States Supreme Court the determination of what is intoxicating for cider and other fruit juices is permitted to the farmer that it is "intoxicating in fact." This means that the farmer has the right to keep his cider until it has the alcoholic content that best suits him.

The moral of this little tale is that if you want friends like Mr. Striving, do not be tolerant, do not admit that any righteous person could possibly disagree with you. Mr. Striving is a good friend to the farmers, and they have never been tolerant. In the early nineties they claimed that all their troubles were due to the unrestrained use of alcoholic liquors, and in 1891 the National Grange went on record for prohibition in a set of resolutions almost Wesleyan in their fiery eloquence. One paragraph will suffice to show the style: "Resolved, That this National Grange most heartily condemns the entire traffic in whatever shape presented, and that as an organization will do all in our power as law-abiding citizens to blot out this plague spot in the Nation."

In 1891, 35 years ago, the National Grange went on

record—unanimously—each unwavering State master speaking for what he then knew, and what we now know to be the strong, unwavering, well-considered sentiment of the farmer people of those States—in favor of prohibition. The resolution was proposed by Milton Trussler, master of the Indiana State Grange, and it was unanimously adopted. It reads as follows:

Whereas the whiskey traffic is a sin against God, a crime against society, and the saloon the enemy of the farmer, its blighting influences far-reaching in their effects, without any mixture of good—destroying homes, breaking hearts, adding greatly to the burden of taxation, multiplying the miseries of mankind; and

Whereas the farmers are largely the sufferers from this traffic, on account of having the *heavy burden of taxes to pay in prosecuting crime and in maintaining jails, penitentiaries, and asylums for the poor*: Therefore,

Resolved, That this National Grange most heartily condemns the entire traffic in whatever shape presented and that as an organization will do all in our power as law-abiding citizens to blot out this plague spot in the Nation.

Persons arrested in 1921, 34,175; persons arrested in 1927, 88,079. In the next 50 years of enforcement estimated necessary before Prohibition becomes a fact, there will be more jails than school houses and half of the population will occupy them.

Presumptively, they have blotted out the plague spot, but one gets the impression from the daily papers that the farmers are still asking for “farm relief,” but not for relief from cider.

CHAPTER IX

THE RETAIL LIQUOR TRAFFIC—OLD STYLE

A BIT of reminiscence about the conditions which the Methodist and their friends have remedied so beautifully may start a thread of memories pleasant to those who recall the times when personal liberty was not obsolete in America. For those who are too young to have personal memories of the happy features of those times a short resumé may serve to indicate that they were not so entirely evil as has been taught by the Epworth League and the W. C. T. U.

We do not pretend that no sins were ever involved in the retail liquor traffic. We are not Methodists, and do not claim perfection, immediate or otherwise. We do claim, however, that many of us, decent, God-fearing, law-abiding citizens, have been unduly maligned, and that our business ruin has brought about conditions in this country far more alarming than any that existed before prohibition. We are borne out in this contention by the recent findings of the National Crime Commission that "Owing to the failure of our law enforcement agencies, crime is one of the safest businesses in the United States."

The sale of alcoholic beverages in the pre-prohibition days may be classified under the two divisions by which that sale was regulated by law, and by which the licenses for selling were permitted. Any quantity under five gal-

lons was considered selling at retail, and licenses were granted according to two classifications. First, where the liquor could not be consumed on the premises where it was purchased; and second where the purchaser was allowed to drink it on the premises should he so desire.

In the first class, sales generally were confined to the grocery or drug store. In the second class, though certain quantities under five gallons were allowed, the intention was the granting of the privilege of selling by the drink. When liquor was sold by the retail grocer it was usually for consumption in the homes of those comfortably situated financially, where it was used with the meals and for social purposes; when by the druggist, sometimes, but not always, for medicinal purposes, depending largely on the location of the store. People who did not care to be seen drinking in public patronized both of these sources, but the drug store always benefited more by the patronage of the secret or quiet drinker, who used his liquor as "medicine" only. The quality of liquors carried by druggists was always notably poor, and the prices unreasonably high. In spite of the fact that only the best procurable alcoholic beverages should be used medicinally, the average druggist knew that he could get away with the poorer merchandise and higher prices because of the vast number of drinkers who thought purchasing from any other source was not quite respectable. The liquors thus dispensed never compared favorably with those procurable in the "accursed saloons," and in addition they carried untold numbers of fake medicines, widely advertised as cure-alls, which were nothing but the cheapest alcohol disguised. The sale of these "patent medicines" was enormous, particularly in

the Middle West. A great many people who used these nostrums did not know that they were belying their expressed principles in so doing, but, on the other hand, there were many who were completely hypocritical in using them, while working for prohibition for those who preferred to drink sound, pure liquors rather than adulterated messes.

In the second classification were the club, the hotel, the restaurant, and the saloon. The club was, and as a matter of fact still is, the drinking place of those belonging to the wealthy class. As the club seldom has been called criminal, even from the pulpit, we may judge that to the prohibition enthusiasts the private club was never considered as objectionable as the saloon, the club of the poor. Club drinking, in the days before all drinking was illegal, was rarely conspicuous.

The hotel was the place of public drinking by the well-to-do classes. In the "survey" made by one of the present-day "economic research" writers, hired by religious interests, the hotel of the years before 1918 is called the glorified saloon. This economist proves to his own satisfaction that prohibition has been a blessing to hotel owners and managers from an economic point of view. Professor Feldman, the research expert in question, whose survey was syndicated throughout the country, quotes a chain hotel manager as saying: "The hotel man of the past was not a business man; he sold a few rooms, some food, and a lot of booze," and as further asserting: "Smaller hotels quite generally lost on their hotel operations, but existed on their bars," and that "taken as a whole, hotels, large and small, made about 75 per cent of their profits from the sale of liquor." This, if correctly

quoted by Prof. Feldman, puts the hotel, by a certain hotel authority, into the saloon class. It is difficult to understand how the loss of this seventy-five per cent of profits can be made up by any amount of economic efficiency without an enormous increase in hotel prices, but it is claimed by Feldman that "this has not occurred to any extent."

It may be true that in the old days, the American plan hotel typified the well known wasteful methods of American business of the time, but it had a charm of hospitality that is sadly lacking in these days of more scientific management. Beginning at the Atlantic seaboard, hotels of this type were scattered in the large cities clear across the continent. I mention as typical a few of those whose names bring gracious memories to me and others of my generation, the old Fifth Avenue, of New York; Continental, Philadelphia; Monongahela, Pittsburgh; Russel, Detroit; Palmer House, Chicago; Plankinton, Milwaukee; Southern, St. Louis; Windsor, Denver, and the Palace, in San Francisco. There were several of this sort in every city of importance, and they always did a capacity business, as did their bars. But they were profitable business ventures, regardless of their bars, even in those days of economic wastefulness.

Although the generous and hospitable hotel is passing, many who were guests of those old hostelrys in their heydays are still living, who, while acknowledging the saving in construction and management of some of the well known chain system hotels of today, where every inch of space is utilized, and all sorts of economies are practiced, even down to the size of the bathroom supplies, still regret the old-time spaciousness and hospitality.

Hospitality was in the very air of every part of those huge old structures, and was especially evident in the bars, where the finest people of the cities were to be found. The hospitality was genuine. Every guest felt it, and it cost him considerably less than the efficient impersonality of the modern caravensary. The best hotels today, those that retain some remnants of hospitality, are run by men who had their early schooling under the managers of the charming hotel of the older days, and not in lunch counters or Ohio river small-town hotels. The poor economic and business condition of those days is proof of the splendid business management of the old-timers, many of whom I counted as my friends. Not one of them then believed in Prohibition, as not one of the real leaders of hotel management believes in it today.

The so-called "Raines-Law Hotels" in New York came into existence in the eighteen-nineties. They were examples of the worst sort of hotels in the country, as the Waldorf-Astoria was of the best. They were primarily responsible for whatever stigma attached to the hotel business of the day, as George Boldt recognized when he was president of the Hotel Men's Association; this condition he deplored in a speech made at one of their annual conventions. He brought out the fact that real hotel men served drinks not so much for profit as for the convenience of their guests. The Raines-Law hotels were the result of well-intended but badly conceived sumptuary legislation, passed by country legislators entirely ignorant of city conditions.

The restaurants of the old days are the greatest loss to most of us in this era of prohibition—Sherry's, Delmonico's, Mouquin's in New York—every city knows the

old favorites that have passed out—not only those frequented by the “better” (meaning richer) class, but the far greater number where a good meal with a glass of beer or a bottle of red wine could be had for a modest sum. As Thurston Macauley writes, “Prohibition has had a lamentable effect on our restaurants. When beer, wines, cocktails, and liquors were relegated to the class of illicit commodities, eating became less of a pleasure, and more of a matter of routine. Many sinners like myself deem it ever so much more enjoyable to dine with a bottle of Sauterne at one’s elbow” (See “The Decline of Eating in America”—*Forum*, Dec., 1926).

Americans are becoming accustomed to the “eat and run” habits developed in the cafeteria and the automat. The drug store lunch counter has helped to turn eating into a mere stoking process devoid of any esthetic value. Perhaps this is to the spiritual good of the nation, but I doubt it, and it is certainly hard on the national digestion. Be that as it may, the condition is painfully irksome to our foreign visitors, who are dependent on restaurants and hotels for their meals. While suffering personally, they are amazed that such a state of affairs can prevail in a civilized country, and especially in one that has so loudly acclaimed its freedom.

The Florentine Choir, recently touring this country, after suffering from this state of affairs across the entire continent, telegraphed ahead to San Francisco.

“Our meals are a torture,” they wired, “We must have our wine. We cannot do without it. We have used it all our lives and now we have only sad thoughts; we can have no wine.” This was the lament of a body of extremely temperate men.

The saloon was naturally the drinking place for the general public. The saloon, like the hotel was developed from the inn and taverns of early days, where drinking was usually done at tables, and in a leisurely manner. With the increasing demand for malt liquors, and the increasing number of breweries to supply that demand, the saloons came. They multiplied rapidly as brewers started them to help in the distribution of their product. The country small town and village knew nothing of the importer of wines, or the grocer of the city, who handled only the finer qualities of wines and liquors for the most cultured class of citizenship. It might be well to mention here that the urban population was in Madison's time only 5 per cent but it is now estimated to be 60 per cent of the entire population of these United States. Whether the saloon was entirely evil is still a moot subject. It is certain that *the character of any saloon depended entirely upon the character of its clientele*, a fact that was never given consideration from the pulpit. That the saloon was a more boisterous place than the private club, the restaurant, or the hotel did not necessarily mean that it was a vicious place. In country and suburban districts where both the manufacture and drinking of intoxicants, for the most part, took place in the home, the saloon was probably always a drab and iniquitous spot, but in the cities that was not necessarily the case. The idea that all saloons were entirely evil was prevalent in what may be termed the "farmer mind." This was due to the lurid pictures of city saloons painted by all small towns and some city pulpit orators, who had never entered a saloon of any sort, and would have been insulted if they had been asked if they had seen any of the depravity of which

they preached. Farmer congregations believed in the "gospel truth" of anything that came from the pulpit.

The attitude of the city dweller of the time, who had a knowledge of city conditions and of city saloons, both good and bad, is well given in a book written in the early nineties by Paul Leicester Ford (*The Honorable Peter Sterling*, Paul Leicester Ford, 1894, Henry Holt & Co., page 133—47th edition, 1903). He makes his hero say: "If you could only understand it, mother, as I have come to, you would not mind. Here, the saloon is chiefly the loafing place for the lazy and shiftless, but in New York it is very different. It's the poor man's club. If you could see the dark, cold, foul-aired tenements where they live and then the bright, warm, cheerful saloons that are open to all, you would see that it is not the drink that draws the men."

Saloon-keepers, as a class, were neither vicious nor criminal. Although made the scapegoats, many of them were decent and square men, and considered as good citizens in the communities where they lived and were known personally.

In justice and fairness to these men, this character-murder should cease, and the real reason for the menace to society inherent in all saloons, whether vicious or not, should be proclaimed. That menace was, in a great measure, an economic, and not a moral one. I refer to the treating habit.

The saloon was the method of supplying alcoholic beverages to the largest proportion of our frank and open drinkers. It was not a good method, and human nature being what it is, it could never be a good method, *so long as there is private profit in public drinking*. Saloon-

keepers sold for profit, and to increase their sales they took advantage of the treating habit. Americans are known to be the greatest "treaters" in the world. This is partly due to high wages, but more to the desire, born of a feeling of independence and equality, in each individual, "to keep his end up." This habit of buying for the other fellow was always more in evidence among the wage-earners on their pay-days than it was among the people who could better afford to indulge in generosity. Herein has always lain the real reason for the greater part of the "saloon evil."

I hold no brief for the saloon, and I do not argue for its return. I know that it was harmful to such an extent that it should be tried again only as a last resort against the evil results of prohibition. Intelligent modification of the Volstead Act and intelligent regulation of the liquor traffic would make any such drastic step unnecessary. The Alcoholic Distilled Liquor Traffic, to which I belonged, was responsible neither for the beginning of saloons, nor for their increase. In fact, we sponsored the "Model License System" which would have eradicated the evil saloon. What I have written here is not in defense of the saloon, per se, but in the spirit of fair play to such decent and square men as were in the saloon business when it was legal, and who have suffered even more than we have from the vicious falsifications of fanatics.

However, as to the quality of liquor sold in the legal saloons, compared to the high priced products in common use today, the saloon was a blessing. For that matter, compare all the legalized drinking places of former days with the places where liquor is sold or drunk today, and

judge which were more harmful to the morals and the morale of the nation. Compare the dignified drinking that formerly went on in clubs of good standing with that which now takes place in the night "clubs" of the cities, which are raided and padlocked once in so often.

Was a glass or so of beer in an attractive restaurant served with a hearty meal worse than the three or four synthetic cocktails now taken before the trip to the restaurant is started or the hip-pocket drinks with the eating? Was the public drinking in hotels and restaurants, which was nearly always moderate, as bad as the present "parties" in the homes, where the drinking does not stop until either the liquor or the drinkers are "out?"

Was there anything in the old days of drinking so dangerous as the hip-flask of strong liquor carried in the automobile and emptied into himself by the driver as he travels? If we had an epidemic that killed sixty-four people in one county in one month, a quarantine would be raised so high that no one could climb over it. Sixty-four people were killed by automobiles in Los Angeles county in February, 1928, and a large percentage of these deaths were caused by drunken drivers.

If I needed proof of the evil of drunkenness, said one, I have it under my eyes in my official work. The number of drunken drivers coming under the investigation of this office resulting in punishment was 115 in the first year of the Prohibition law. This year it will probably reach the 2,000 mark, a plain proof to any one that the Volstead law has not decreased but has increased drunkenness in automobile drivers.

When I think of the maiming and murdering—for it is no less than murder when a drunken man driving an automobile kills some one—I am horrified at the condition and I am convinced that sumptuary legislation is not the way to stop drunkenness.

This condition is not confined to one locality, it is prevalent in every section of our country. On the Atlantic Coast we find it even more in evidence than on the Pacific and we have the testimony of the Commissioner of State Motor Vehicles of New Jersey, Mr. William L. Dill, to prove this statement. On April 16, 1928, he wrote to such effect to the W. C. T. U. (*N. Y. World*, May 30).

It is estimated on good authority that there are now nearly twice as many "speak-easies" in New York as there were formerly licensed saloons. Even if each of the thousands of saloons was an active menace to society, is not each "speak-easy" a greater one?

In the old days it was illegal to permit minors in saloons—a law that in most cases was enforced. Now there are many men who cater to the high school clientele, and practically any high school student knows where he can get a supply of such liquors as are on the market. Minors are active as bootleggers, the youngest on record being a ten year old girl who was arrested in Los Angeles for selling a drink to a policeman. This child understood so thoroughly the duties of her profession that, when she realized that she had been fooled into selling to a spy, she dashed into the kitchen of her home, and broke the containers of a supply of liquor, spilling the "evidence" down the sink.

The Methodist Anti-Saloon League has done its work. Hallelujah—Amen!

CHAPTER X

THE LIQUORS WE USED TO DRINK—BEER

THE keystone argument of the Prohibition propagandist has always been the demonstrably false one that "Alcohol is a poison." To this customarily was added the equally false allegation that all connected with its manufacture and sale were poisoners of their kind. This classification was applied indiscriminately to all of us. Fanaticism, especially when urged from the pulpit, does not seek the narrow pale of truth as its boundary.

This doctrine is still upheld by them. "Alcohol is a poison" continues to be chanted despite the fact that the consensus of scientific opinion, especially that of the medical profession, has always been to the contrary. Zealous prohibitionists, however, must persist in the rejected claim, or their case tumbles to the ground.

We acknowledge that the beverage alcohol made and consumed in this country today is more injurious than that used by any other civilized people; that frequently it is a deadly poison, and that its illegal manufacture and use has increased unceasingly since Federal enforcement began to be attempted. This condition began with the Prohibition enactment, but its rapid increase is entirely due to the rabid fanaticism of the enforcement law and its agents, and the relief offered by the prohibitionists is that we should make this law more stringent. It be-

gan when the paeon of Prohibition victory sounded the death knell of legal manufacture on the mistaken idea that the manufacture was the cause of the demand. While toxic beverages are being increasingly made and consumed, we are informed by enforcement authority that this demand may be stopped in fifty years!

This country has not always been noted for drinking the greatest quantities of the worst liquors procurable. The history of legal manufacture shows that American alcoholic liquors of the lower strengths, that is, beers and wines, compared favorably with those made in any country; while the more generally used distilled spirits (whiskey) were the best in the world.

In early days in this country malt liquors were not nearly as popular as distilled ones. According to the twelfth census report, "In colonial times as well as in the early decades of the nation's history the consumption of malt liquor was relatively small, and increased slowly. Where the demand existed at all it was for ale, porter, and stout; there was a large consumption of all kinds of distilled spirits." This state of affairs was so obvious that Thomas Jefferson advocated to the Virginia Assembly the wisdom of granting a permit to start a brewery to a recent arrival in the colony. Jefferson's main argument for granting this permission was that if beer came into common use it would lessen to a great extent the harmful effects that were being caused by over-indulgence in distilled spirits. Hudson Maxim, in testimony in the prohibition hearings of 1926, said that Jefferson held this brewer, a certain Captain Miller, in warm esteem and entertained him at his home until he could "fix himself." Jefferson said of him: "He is

about to settle in this country and to establish a brewery, in which *art* (italics are mine) I think him as skillful a man as has ever come to America."

This gives us knowledge of Jefferson's opinion of the brewing industry and of the men who conducted it in colonial times, and proves that he believed in temperance, but not in prohibition. Jefferson was not alone in this stand. By one of the laws passed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635 "no permission was required for the sale of malt liquor, while a license was required for traffic in ardent spirits." Testimony of Victor L. Berger, Prohibition hearings of 1926. James Madison moved before the House of Representatives of the United States in 1789 that the low duty of eight cents per barrel be placed on malt liquors, hoping "that this low rate will be such an encouragement as to induce the manufacture of beer in every state in the Union." This is sufficient to show that the manufacture of malt liquors, and also their sale, was fostered by our early law makers, not so much as a source of taxation, but as a temperance measure. Due to this encouragement numerous ale breweries were already in existence when the manufacture of lager beer was started in the United States about 1840.

German architects furnished the plans for the breweries first constructed in this country, and German brewmasters were brought over to make the beer exactly as it was made in Germany. The word "Lager" meaning "to ripen" indicated that the beer was kept for some months in a storehouse before it was put out for consumption. The best German beers were made only of malt, hops, and water, and were kept a long time to

ripen; but in this country the demand came quickly for beers of lighter body. This was because it was the custom here to drink much more rapidly, and to drink much colder beer. Chilling by refrigeration caused the heavier beers to deteriorate, so, although there were brewers here who prided themselves on making the old style lager, "as good as any made in the old country," a new American type of beer came into being which was much lighter bodied than the majority of German beers, and with few exceptions, compared favorably with the German light-bodied types. The alcoholic content of German and American beers were about the same. The percentage of alcohol by weight of the following malt liquors is typical of the popular ales and lagers of the time: Burton Ale, 8.25; Guinness Stout, 6.29; Scotch ale, 4.41; New York beer, 3.85; Munich beer, 3.74 (about 1913).

On account of the cultivation in the people of a taste for milder beverages, and the general increase in population, together with the influx of German immigration, encouraged by our government about the middle of the nineteenth century (because German immigrants were found to make most desirable citizens), the use of lager beer was so extended that at the beginning of this century it had almost entirely taken the place of ale and porter, and the word "beer" had come to mean "Lager beer."

Because the cost of transportation of the finished product was more expensive than that of the raw materials used in making beer, breweries were located near the centers of consumption, that is, in the cities. Those located in the cities of the Middle West, which were

nearer the large grain fields, had some advantage over the others. Whether it was on this account alone, or for additional reasons, the cities of St. Louis and Milwaukee were the most noted centers of the brewing industry. Their products were sold over the entire country, from Atlantic to Pacific, from Canada to Mexico, and large quantities were exported.

There was considerable pride and great rivalry between the two cities, the citizens of each claiming that the better beer was made in the "old home town."

The brewing industry had grown, from the time it was fostered and encouraged by Jefferson and Madison, to such an extent that there were breweries in almost every city of any size in the country at the time the prohibition laws were enacted. Some of them covered several city blocks, while in St. Louis and Milwaukee breweries; with the housing for their employees, extended over such large sections that they were the most important industries in those cities, and several of them were probably as large as any in the world. The social registers of either of those cities will tell the important part that the families of the brewers took in the social and civic activities of the communities.

Taking the figures from the sworn statement of the Hon. Anthony Griffins (Senate Hearings) there were twelve hundred and fifty breweries in the United States when Federal prohibition went into effect. In his own words: "The Volstead Act scuttled nearly a billion dollars worth of personal property, representing the investment of our citizens in breweries, distilleries, and wine presses." He states that the capital invested in breweries alone was \$792,914,000, at the time the eighteenth

amendment went into effect. In counting the losses of those who were so unfortunately involved in the liquor traffic, no allowance has been made for "good will," an important factor in estimating the value of any other going business, and a factor which the government has acknowledged by the income tax allowance for its loss. Our professors of economies should know this, and at least mention it, when with great show of fairness, they endeavor to controvert these figures and when they make surveys, the only reason for which, they say, is to "get at the facts."

Dr. Robert A. Millikan, world-renowned both as a scientist and as an educator, said recently: "Scientists of the best kind first seek the facts and then reach whatever conclusions are inevitable, instead of trying to make facts fit into preconceived notions." This is far from the idea of the hired scientists of the prohibitionists. Facts were not considered at all in the emotional religious hysteria in which prohibition had its inception; and during the growth of the prohibition idea they were not sought for; the substitutes for facts were manufactured to suit the pulpit oratory of the time; and now, after the destruction of character and property has been accomplished, we are told, with calm serenity, and disavowals of animus, that we must "find out the facts."

How such "scuttling" could have been accomplished legally is a subject of wonder. The liquor business was ruined by what amounted to confiscation, an injustice that could scarcely have taken place in any other country than this "free" one, where a man is free to enter a legal business, to conduct it legally, and then have it taken from him with no redress. In England, for example,

if a saloon, or the like, is condemned for economic reasons, adequate compensation is always awarded its proprietors for the losses caused.

It is not such a puzzle, however, when we consider the conditions existing all over the country, and especially in Washington, at that time. The legislatures of state after state had gone dry, under the skilled political management of the Anti-Saloon League, probably the most powerful as well as the most astute political organization that has ever functioned in this country. The representatives in congress, especially those of the Southern states joined with some of the Northern states of small urban population, were mostly prohibitionists, elected by Anti-Saloon League influence.

The Democratic party was in power, and, as always when this has been the case, the great majority of cabinet portfolios, as well as the chairmanships of the most important congressional committees were filled with *Southern* democrats, from the *solid dry* South. President Wilson had been under great obligation to William Jennings Bryan for his first nomination and election. He came to the presidential office with high ideals, but without any knowledge of practical politics to help him to put these ideals across. Bryan's influence and Bryan's practical politics were evident in the selection of the Wilson cabinet, of which the kindest thing that can be said of its members is that they were men of no importance.

Washington conditions of that time are vividly pictured in an editorial from the *Wall Street Journal*, June 1, 1927, which says, in part: "Never did we have such an orgy of fool legislation, public regulation, the crea-

tion of meddlesome regulatory bodies, the compilation of worthless statistics, the holding of useless inquiries and childish investigations, as during those eight years when a college professor ruled at the White House. He had a Secretary of State who devised the mass production of peace treaties and saw the whole world at war almost before the ink was dry on the signatures."

Pacifist propaganda had reached its high point at that time, and Wilson's second election was accomplished on a slogan "He kept us out of the war." No great country ever entered a war with a less degree of preparedness than did ours, when public opinion finally forced the administration into the greatest war of all times. We had been continually warned of this probable contingency by red-blooded Americans like Theodore Roosevelt and George Harvey, but nothing had been done. Then at last war was declared, and we can all remember the hysteria that, beginning at Washington, swept the country.

This was the psychological time for the Anti-Saloon League to attack the brewers. They took full advantage of the opportunity to fire hatred of everything and everyone German, and nearly all of the brewers were of German descent. As in England, this feeling in America wreaked a great deal of injustice. It is true that there were instances of German-born Americans who retained their loyalty to their mother country. The cases of native-born Americans of German descent, who were disloyal to this country were so few that each of them caused a furore like the Bergdoll case. The great majority of our German-born American citizens and their children were of the "Hertzstein" type. Dr. Morris

Hertzstein was a German-born surgeon of high renown living in San Francisco. I take the space to quote from his will, which bequeathed his fortune of a million dollars to public benefactions, because it shows a loyalty to the country of his adoption that was not unique among his kind. Dr. Hertzstein had no immediate family, but there were relatives-at-law in Germany to whom his conscience would not allow him to devise any part of his money.

Since executing my will, wrote the doctor in his codicil, my country, the United States of America, has declared war on Germany, the country of my birth. The reasons for that declaration are to me right and just . . . in leaving Germany many years ago I did so because I could not tolerate the system of government which is the very same that has brought the nation to war with practically every other civilized nation in the world . . . If by any act of mine, I should allow any of my property to go to relatives bearing allegiance to the enemy of my country, I should feel that I had abused one of the sacred rights of citizenship in the United States, and that I had turned traitor to the principles of liberty and justice.

Though President Wilson was not at all in sympathy with Bryan and his fellow prohibitionists, the Democratic South was, practically to a man. The prohibitionists were aided in every way by the Pacifists, because the Pacifists of the administration were very glad to "divert the attention" of the general public from themselves for the time being. Unpreparedness had lost its popularity.

Some of the men whom the League used as tools have died, many of them who are still alive have retired to that "innocuous desuetude" first mentioned by Grover

Cleveland; but we have the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals to take their place. Even so, now that the hysteria has passed, it will be difficult to convince the 'general public that the brewers, because they were of German blood, were all enemies of the country. We believe that a sane investigation of the general character and patriotism of this class of citizens will show them to have had as high motives as the general population. We know that many of our best soldiers during the war, both officers and men, were of German blood, and that all the liberty bond issues were supported by the brewers, even those that were issued after they had been deprived of their means of livelihood, and the greatest part of their property, through the below-the-belt propaganda of the Anti-Saloon League, which was as unjust as it was vindictive.

CHAPTER XI

WINE

WINE, being the product of natural forces, and not requiring machinery for its production, is the oldest of alcoholic beverages, and was made before the dawn of history. Noah had knowledge of the manufacture of wine, and made it just as soon after the flood as conditions permitted.

The first Spanish settlers in Florida, having brought with them the knowledge of processes, made the first wine in this country of which there is historical record, but it is probable that it had been made here by an earlier civilization. Wine was made also by English and German colonists when they settled in what are now Virginia, Delaware, and New York.

The wine of the colonists was made from native wild grapes of which there were a number of varieties. Those most commonly used were the "Scuppernong" in the Southern, and the "Catawba" in the Northern settlements. The early attempts to grow wine grapes transplanted from Europe, which made much better wine, failed, because of the differences in soil and climate. *Phyloxera*, a plant louse, which attacks the roots of the vine, killed off all the imported stock. It was found that the roots of the native vines were impervious to this pest.

It was in California that the great wine-making districts of the United States were developed. The Spanish

Franciscan missionaries, headed by that indomitable priest, Father Junipero Serra, first brought European vines to Southern California in about 1769. The climatic and soil conditions proved to be correct for their growth, and this state eventually produced by far the greatest quantity of wine made in this country, as well as the finest quality.

As the wines of California were the only American wines ever considered by connoisseurs as comparing with those from the old wine growing districts of Europe, a short history of the industry in this state will be of greater interest than consideration of any other wines made in the United States.

Fra Junipero Serra, his fellow-missionaries, and their successors taught the culture of the vine and the making of wine to their Indian converts at all the missions which they founded, from San Diego, now on the Mexican border, all the way north to what is now Sonoma county. The sites of the missions were always in valleys with arable land extending well into the foothills, and having plenty of good fresh water. These missions grew and flourished, until in 1831 there were twenty-one, having an Indian population of some 25,500, who had been taught many of the arts of civilization.

With the overthrow of the Spanish power in Mexico, the missionaries were banished in 1832-34, the missions plundered and left to fall in ruins, and the Indian converts driven to the desert and the mountains. Some of the missions have been restored, and even those in ruins are monuments to the heroic energy of the Franciscan fathers who built them. These men also left a permanent

memorial in the vineyards, and wine-knowledge, which they had introduced.

What is now known as the "Mission" grape was the only variety planted in California until about 1820. A few other varieties had been introduced before the destruction of the Missions, but it was not until California became a state that, attracted by the fact that the soil and climate were known to be favorable to grape culture, heavy immigration from the vine-growing districts of Europe began. More than fifty different kinds of European vines were successfully transplanted, and this state became by far the largest producer of good wines in the United States.

Although the total yearly production before Prohibition enactment could not compare in volume with that of the wine-producing countries of Europe, there were in California a number of vineyards that were larger, both in acreage and in number of vines, than in any other country. It was found, after a careful study by the California State Agricultural Experiment Station, that, in general, California wines were higher in alcohol, solids, tannin, and coloring matter than European wines made from the same varieties of grapes. There are two natural causes for this difference. First, the soil of California has been cultivated to the grape for a very short period in comparison to the centuries of European cultivation; second, as is well known in Europe, a vine will live and bear grapes to an age of even three hundred years; and, up to a certain age, grapes from old vines produce a smaller quantity but a finer quality of wine.

A large percentage of the California wine crop was marketed as soon as possible after it was made, mainly

by several corporations which controlled the largest acreage in vines. There were, however, several California wines that were aged, and were markedly superior to the rest. Although they were not nearly as good as the finest of European wines, they compared favorably with most of the imported wines.

Senator Leland Stanford was one of the early pioneer vineyard proprietors of the state, and he expended large sums of money in experimenting, and in developing the vineyards. Stanford's wines were good, but his brandy was especially fine, his "Vina" brandy being more like cognac than anything made in this country. At his death in 1893, his estate, including the famous vineyards, became the endowment of the Leland Stanford, Jr. University at Palo Alto, and was operated under the direction of the board of trustees of that institution.

Robert Livermore of Livermore, California (died 1927), was another pioneer devoted to the improvement of California wines. Still another early arrival was Secondo Guasti, who has also died recently and will go down in California history as the man who made a desert into one of the world's largest and most productive vineyards.

Guasti came to California in 1881 from a small town in Piedmont, Italy. He had been educated in the practical knowledge of both grape culture and wine making, and so, though he landed here with no money, he had "an expertly trained mind and a stout heart." At first he worked in the few already established vineyards, but soon began to buy their grapes and turn them into wine. He then established the Italian Vineyard Company and bought fifteen hundred acres of desert land at South

Cucamonga, which had no water and no vegetation of any sort. People thought him insane, but he sank artesian wells and found water, planted the vines, and eventually developed his vineyard to seventy-five hundred acres. To collect the grapes as they were picked, he built a narrow gauge railway, which wound along a nine mile track to gather the grapes and take them to the winery.

Guasti was decorated by the King of Italy for his achievements, and finally received from Mussolini the highest distinction in the gift of the Italian government, the title of Grande Officiale; but in the country where he made the desert bloom he was, to a large element, the personification of "Demon Rum."

The effect of prohibition on the grape growing industry has been rather astounding. In pre-prohibition times \$12.00 per ton was a high price for vineyardists to receive for their crops. A good neighbor of mine, whose family owned a vineyard at that time, which has since been divided into city lots, tells me that for one year's crop, which required a long haul to deliver, they received \$5.00 per ton. The price since prohibition has been as high as \$140.00 per ton, with \$95.00 now considered low. Encouraged by these phenomenal prices, so much new acreage has been planted, and is coming into bearing, that the price is bound to drop again.

Since prohibition enforcement has shown its weakness, the planting of vines has increased, as have the carload shipments of grapes. From an average of less than 13,500 carloads per year for the years 1916-17-18, they jumped to the enormous quantity of 64,394 carloads (Bureau of Agricultural Economics) in 1926, and the

California Vineyard Association estimates that the increase is continuing. This estimate has nothing to do with the shipment of the raisin crop, which is an entirely different industry, although wine can be made from table grapes and raisins, as well as from wine grapes. The prices paid for grapes today, and the resultant cost of the wines made from them, should be compared with pre-prohibition prices, which were at one time as low as fifteen cents per gallon f.o.b. New Orleans, with thirty-five cents for the top price.

Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, in his "survey" on grape shipments, comes to the conclusion: "There would seem to be no evidence here of any considerable inflation due to an illicit demand" (See *The Prohibition Situation*—Published by the Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, New York City, Second Printing). I believe Dr. Johnson to have made an error in this conclusion, but I also believe his presentation of the Prohibition side of the case to be the only one which has come to my hands that is fair and free from hypocrisy.

It may be remembered that, several years before the Federal prohibition enactment, but when quite a number of states had gone dry (in name only) William Jennings Bryan was expatiating on the merits of unfermented grape juice as a beverage. At that time a small party of us met socially at the Union League Club, Philadelphia. Mr. Cabel, then United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, told us that the field agents of his department had found numerous shipments of Mr. Bryan's pet drink in the so-called dry states. There was a large red sticker on the head of each barrel printed with the following

"Warning": The contents of this barrel is unfermented grape juice. Do not add any yeast, and do not keep barrel stored in a warm place or the contents will ferment and become wine. This "Warning" is not necessary now, under the Federal law, for home manufacture and consumption which is one reason for the immense increase in grape shipments from California to the east, and also for the encouragement of the grape growers in the eastern vineyards.

The Volstead law provides, for the special benefit of the farmer, that any one may under permit make three hundred gallons of wine or cider in his own home for family use. That this system is now teaching national hypocrisy to the younger generation in the city sale, as well as to that in the farming districts, is shown by the testimony of Major Mills, head of the Federal Prohibition enforcement officers in and around New York City in 1926, who states:

Scores of complaints reached us daily of grape-juice salesmen taking orders by office-and-house-canvassing, for delivery of ten and twenty gallon kegs from upper New York or mid-Pennsylvania and Ohio. These salesmen gave their patrons written instructions warning them solemnly not to remove the bung from the keg of juice, or the fermenting contents would become wine. To these complaints, and similar protests against shops selling malt and hops, bottles, crocks, and capping machines, and wine and cider presses, we paid no attention whatever. That traffic is legal, so far as I know. It is not the job of the federal government to suppress it and, with or without legions of spies—it cannot be suppressed.

(See *Collier's*, *The National Weekly*. Oct. 1, 1927—"Wine and Beer Preferred," Major Chester F. Mills, U. S. Army.)

As my firm specialized more in fine sherry than in other wines, I will specialize in its description here, quoting from an article I wrote in 1910 for a trade publication whose "foreword" read as follows. The interest is, unfortunately, purely reminiscent, as the wines described are no longer on the American market. At that time I wrote:

Vinos de Jerez (Xerez, old style), Jerez wine, pronounced Hehreth, was found impossible to the early English tongue, and was corrupted to Sherris, afterwards Sherry, and is now known as Sherry wine.

Nowhere else can sherry be produced but in the white chalky hills, in a triangular district, marked by the cities of Jerez, Port St. Mary's, and Sanlucar, province of Cadiz, South Spain. Here it has been grown for centuries, although, as happened in Bordeaux, and in other districts, the vineyards of the Jerez district were almost entirely destroyed by phyloxera. They have been replanted to a great extent, and are again producing exactly the same wine. When the vineyards were destroyed, the vineyard proprietors were confronted with a grave situation; replanting was an expensive operation; stocks had to be secured whose roots would withstand the attacks of phyloxera, and grafts from the old vines employed. It was a question whether the same wine would be produced. This has been settled satisfactorily, but only a portion of the vineyards, in fact less than one-half, have been replanted; so that, where the hills ten years ago were covered with a mantle of green, now more than half appear glistening white in the hot sunshine.

Some thirty years ago the old Spanish family of Sancho, proprietors for many years of the celebrated Vineyard El Caribe, which produces Amontillado "Don Quixote," sent by request to California cuttings from their best and most vigorous vines. These were grafted and the result was, in every case, a beautiful vine, but in no case was the wine similar in any way to Amontillado sherry. This experiment and the more recent one of replant-

ing in Spain, go to prove that it is soil and climate more than anything else which is responsible for the peculiar flavor and bouquet of wines from certain districts which make for their superiority and renown.

There is no secret process, nor, as is the common belief, is sherry wine made in a way different from that employed in making other wines. After the grapes are pressed at the vineyard house, the juice (*mosto*) is pumped into large casks, which are carried on bullock carts, usually at night, to the Bodegas—large stone, over-ground cellars—at Jerez de la Frontera, Port St. Mary, or Sanlucar. Here the *mosto* goes through the process of fermentation, where the saccharine matter is changed to alcohol and carbonic acid gas. The latter goes free, while the alcoholic strength increases in the *mosto* until it reaches the point where it kills further fermentations, sometimes leaving some of the saccharine unfermented, sometimes having transformed all of it. The wine is then drawn off, and aged like other wines, except that, whereas most wines are kept in dark underground cellars, the Spanish bodegas are large stone buildings with many openings, giving plenty of sunshine and a free circulation of air.

Sherry is now used in medicinal compounds more than any other wine; but why lessen its strength-giving powers by combination? The fact that, from the time the grapes are ripened on the high sunny hills until the wine is bottled, Sherry is always surrounded by pure air and sunshine should be appreciated by the medical profession, and the health-giving potency of old Amontillado should be more widely known. The longevity of the inhabitants of Andalusia is proverbial. There is an old tale of an Archbishop of Seville who lived to be a hundred and twenty-five years old, who always drank a half bottle of Amontillado with his dinner—unless he did not feel quite right, when he drank two bottles.

The great majority of sherry shippers and their factors are proud of their wines and drink them generously. The death-rate shows a smaller percentage of this class who die young than does the general death-rate, and a large percentage live to a ripe old

age. From this one can understand why sherry is called in Andalusia "la leche de los viejos"—the milk of the aged.

A glass of Amontillado, with or without bitters, is beginning to appeal to the American taste as an appetizer, to supersede the strong cocktail. At dinner Amontillado is served with the soup, the glasses are refilled during the fish course, and frequently only removed when the roast appears. In the kitchen, the chef, when preparing shellfish or terrapin, would be at a loss without sherry. In fact, to the educated taste, there is no wine that can compete with sherry, and of all wines it is the most useful for all purposes.

A rather pleasant picture of the joys of which we have been deprived by the prohibition fanatics, this—a picture of leisurely eating of good food, as well as of drinking good wine. Be it noted that, with no thought of the controversy now in progress as to the merits of permitting light wine and beer, the author points to the increasing use of sherry as an appetizer in preference to something with more "kick."

Sometime before his death, I sent to my friend Madison Julius Cawein, the poet, a bottle of our "Don Quixote" Amontillado sherry. He wrote me a letter of acknowledgment containing an ode, which he told me he intended to submit to *Life*. He did this and it was published in *Life* December 3, 1914, just five days before the poet's death. The ode follows; and I am proud to think it was inspired by my gift of a wine, the sale of which has now necessarily been discontinued as being "POISON."

"DON QUIXOTE"

"Lines written after receiving from a friend a bottle of Sherry wine of the same name as the above.

What "blushful Hippocrene" is here! What fire
Of the warm South with magic of old Spain!
Through which again I seem to view the train
Of all Cervantes' dreams, his heart's desire,
The melancholy Knight, in gaunt attire
Of steel, rides by upon the wind-mill plain,
With Sancho Panza on his ass again,
While, far away, a swineherd from a byre
Winds a hoarse horn.

And all at once I see
The glory of that soul who rode upon
Impossible quests, following a deathless dream
Of righted wrongs—that never were to be—
Like many another champion, who had gone
Questing a cause that perished like a gleam.

Wine is the good drink, the harmless drink, the healthful and inspiring drink. Count Herman Keyserling, the noted philosopher, who on his recent lecture in America had been telling his audiences that the time had come for the beginning of the growth of spiritual life commensurate with our physical accomplishments, said to the reporters in Los Angeles, that there "Could be no art without joy, and no joy without wine."

Cider comes under the classification of wine. Specifically, wine means fermented grape juice, but the word is used to signify the fermented juice of other fruits, such as blackberry, currant, cherry, gooseberry, and some plants, as rhubarb and dandelion, which, with apple cider, have always been made, since colonial days, for home use in the farming districts of this country. Although

the quantity of cider made was always large and the alcoholic content high, it was never considered a factor in the liquor traffic. I treat it separately from grape wines as its use has always been quite different from that of any other alcoholic beverage, partly because it has served as the tippie for many rabid prohibitionists.

Cider—Hebrew *Shekar*, “strong drink,” with the same root, as a verb, meaning to be intoxicated, has always been manufactured wherever apples were grown. Fermented, or “hard” cider was never popular with city dwellers, who preferred wine or beer as a beverage and mild stimulant, but it has always had many votaries among the farmers.

When I was a boy, my native state, New Jersey, was one of the most important apple growing districts in the country. There were a number of cider mills in every county. Nearly every farmer made cider himself, or procured barrels of it from the nearby mill in trade for his apples. The village laborer frequently was paid in cider. A little was used “sweet,” that is, before fermentation began, but most of it was stored in the cellars where it fermented and became “hard”; as it was allowed to ferment a long time it became very hard. The alcoholic content of cider must not be compared with wine or beer, as it could be, and usually was, very much higher than in any other fermented beverage. Hard cider has an “awful kick.”

Of all the beverages made by the fermentation of fruit or grain, none is so potent, in my opinion, as hard cider. I have tasted, at some time in my life, nearly all the distilled and fermented liquors. I have, to my regret, in these later days, tasted the Mexican Tequilla, made by

a process similar to the manufacture of wood alcohol. Incidentally this wicked Mexican drink, when blended, now frequently masquerades in Southern California and perhaps the other border states, under the labels of the old Bourbón brands. I have known hard cider, known it since my boyhood, and I believe it to be the worst drink of them all. There is no pleasure in the taste, and the resultant effect is always of depression to the point of moroseness. It breeds more fights than any other liquor in common use before prohibition. Could it be that gloominess engendered by cider drinking is the reason that so many thousands of cider-bibbers are prohibitionists?

CHAPTER XII

DISTILLED LIQUOR

HISTORICAL evidence of a knowledge of distillation does not go back as far as that of fermentation, but distillation is known to have been used in very early times. A simple example of the theory of distillation may be had in the old-fashioned teakettle on the kitchen stove. When the water in the kettle comes to the boiling point steam is discharged from the spout. If this vapor were caught in a coiled tube attached to the spout, and the tube encased in a water jacket, or chilled in any other manner, the vapor would be condensed again to water, and this water, as it drips from the tube, would have been distilled. If any liquid or grain mash, which has been properly fermented, were substituted for water in the kettle, the same process would produce distilled intoxicating liquor,—brandy, rum, gin, or whiskey, according to whether the kettle contained the fermented juice of fruits, molasses, or starchy grains.

The most expert directions for the practical application of the theory are to be found in the report of the prohibition hearings of 1926, wherein are described even the crudest sorts of stills found in the homes of the very poor.

In the New Jersey of the nineteenth century there were stills in nearly every county making cider brandy (apple whiskey). It was customary for the farmers to

still their cider after harvesting their general crops, as it was in all the apple growing districts of the Atlantic states from Colonial times until the passing of the Volstead act, and in some cases since. George Washington, as noted in his diaries, approved the practice (See the *George Washington Diaries*, Vol. I, page 187). Under date of Sept. 2, 1763 he mentioned having sowed winter barley in the apple orchard; on September 3 and 4, he writes: "Sowed rye in Ditto and began stilling cider."

I often have seen a Jersey farmer drink a tin cup of "Apple Jack"—the Jersey name for stilled cider—as it came from the still at 140° proof, showing that the average farmer, whether he likes his cider fermented or stilled, likes it potent. When fresh from the still this drink was also known as "Jersey lightning," and much of it was used immediately. When properly aged, which eagerness for the "kick" in the farmer seldom permitted, there was no finer distilled liquor than New Jersey cider brandy.

I remember a dear old lady, greatly beloved for her charities, who lived on the same farm her ancestors had owned and tilled near Morristown. She gave me the same recipe for "cherry bounce" which one of her ancestors had given George Washington while he had his headquarters in Morristown from January till May, 1771. Cherry bounce, made of wild cherries and other ingredients, with old cider brandy as a base, has been used for years in New Jersey as a medicine, and it is a most delectable beverage. It is the tradition in the old lady's family that Washington thought very highly of the concoction, a tradition borne out by the diaries, written after the end of the war. When he had occasion to visit

his "Landed Property West of the Appalachian Mountains," in order to locate anything he had packed for the journey he made the following note on September 22, 1784—"In my equipage—Trunk and Canteens—were Madeira and Port Wine, Cherry bounce, Oyl, Mustard, Vinegar, and Spices of all sorts, Tea and Sugar in the Camp Kettles (a whole loaf of white sugar broke up, about 7 lbs. weight), the Camp Kettles are under a lock, as the Canteens and Trunk also are—My fishing lines are in the Canteens" (See *George Washington Diaries*, Vol. II, page 299). The Father of our country was not a prohibitionist. He imported his own Madeira, without which he did not venture to cross the Appalachian Mountains. An entry for May 17, 1760, reads: "Sent up 16 Hydes to Mr. Adams at Alex. (Alexandria), viz. 12 large and 4 small ones to be tan'd. Brought a Pipe (138 gallons) of wine from there wch Capt'n McKee brought from Madeira and a chest of Lemons and some other trifles" (See *George Washington Diaries*, Vol. I, page 162).

The first historical mention I have been able to find of the manufacture of whiskey in this country shows that it was made quite early in the Monongahela district of Pennsylvania, and that the first whiskey, of this country, was for that reason called "Monongahela."

William Penn secured his grant of land in 1681, and his first settlement was made at Philadelphia, in 1682. Because of the religious intolerance at that time rampant in Europe, the colonization was largely Quaker, with the addition of Dutch from the Low Countries, afterwards known as Pennsylvania Dutch. There were a few Scotch-Irish in the settlement by 1698, and many more came after 1730, also because of religious persecution.

The Quaker, and most of the Dutch colonists, settled near the Delaware River, but the Scotch-Irish, with a few of the more daring of the Dutch, pushed on to the frontier at the Monongahela River and cut their farms out from that mountainous wilderness. Game was plentiful there, as were also hostile and cruel Indians. What time they were not fighting Indians for their lives these courageous pioneers spent planting and harvesting their crops of corn, rye, and barley. There were no roads, and they could not transport their grain over the mountain trails in any quantity; so they set up stills as they had done in Scotland, and "ran" their grain into whiskey, which could be more easily carried out. They became as celebrated for their stills as they were for their rifles, and the name Monongahela came to be used for good whiskey more than it was for the district.

It was in about 1774 that one John Harrod, after he had scouted the country, led forty associates from the Monongahela came to be used for good whiskey more is now known as Kentucky, though it was then the farthest frontier of Virginia. The Monongahela settlement at Harrodsburgh was the first of any size in that region. All those early comers had a life and death struggle with the Indians. At the time of the so-called "Whiskey Insurrection" large numbers of the farmer distillers left the Monongahela district to join their relatives in Kentucky, which state they also made famous for fine whiskey. Kentucky whiskey became known as Bourbon from the number of stills that were set up in the county of that name.

In the Revolutionary War, the Scotch-Irish of the Monongahela bore the brunt of the cruel and murderous

attacks of Tories and their Indian allies, bitter experience fighting the Indians and French having taught them the Indian methods of warfare. In the War of 1812 the Kentucky riflemen, of the old Monongahela stock, helped materially to win the battle of New Orleans. In the Mexican War, although Kentucky's quota was only 2,400 men, more than 10,000 Kentuckians volunteered. Thus the history of the distillers of whiskey is honorably woven with the early history of the country, and their record in preserving the country compares favorably with that of the founders of the religion that now dares to label them as "poisoners of their fellow men."

Federal legislation affecting the whiskey traffic, before the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, fell into two distinct categories. One sort was for the purpose of taxation—Internal Revenue. The other, which was of much benefit to the best of the traffic, for which the distiller was largely responsible, had for its sole purpose in every case the production of better quality whiskey for the consumers of the country.

The first Internal Revenue tax on wines and liquors was fixed by Congress, March 3, 1791. By this act, liquors produced from foreign materials were taxed at rates ranging from 11 cents for the lower alcoholic strength, to 30 cents per gallon, for the highest; those produced from domestic materials from 9 cents to 25 cents per gallon. "The act was unpopular, and gave rise to much opposition, as it increased the cost of collection and diminished the returns." Nowhere was this opposition stronger than in Western Pennsylvania, where in 1794 a display of military force was ordered by President Washington to put it down. Washington kept it

a state rather than a federal issue, by using state militia instead of federal troops.

We learn from the *Patriotic Poems of New Jersey* that sympathy for these settlers was very general. The few distillers who were able to pay the tax were willing to do so, but it fell as a great hardship on most of the farmer-distillers of the Monongahela district, who were accustomed to barter their whiskey since they could not ship their grain. They could not pay the tax because it had to be paid in cash, and they had no money; they even had to pay their Scotch minister in whiskey. There was no insurrection in the sense of a display of force; there was no actual fighting. Those who could, paid and continued distilling. Some stopped distilling, and remained on their farms, but many left and sought new lands in Kentucky, where in many instances the old family names of Monongahela appeared as the distillers of Kentucky bourbon.

Whiskey taxation was abandoned in 1801. It was reimposed to help finance the war of 1812, again abandoned in 1817, and only reimposed to aid the government in the Civil War. In 1862 an act was passed taxing spirituous liquor at 60 cents per gallon, which was increased first to \$1.50, and then to \$2.00 in 1864. *But the amounts collected by the government under these higher rates fell off considerably from the liquor tax collection at the lower rates.* The amount collected in 1864 was \$30,329,149 at the rate of 60 cents per gallon. In 1865, under the \$1.50 and \$2.00 rates the amount of collections fell to \$18,731,422. The greater productivity of the lower rate was indisputably proven when, the war-time taxes no longer being necessary, by the act of July

26, 1868, the tax on distilled spirits was reduced to 50 cents per gallon. This produced for the fiscal year of 1870 a revenue of \$55,606,094, while the maximum revenue, under the \$2.00 rate, had been in 1867, and amounted to only \$33,542,951. This difference was not due to the fact that there was less drinking, but to the illicit distillation which sprang up immediately throughout the country, to take advantage of the greater profits made possible by the higher rates. The profit to be made under Prohibition Enforcement is the main reason for the bootlegger of today.

Some of the illicit whiskey at that time came from regularly registered distilleries, and was procured by the bribery of government employees, but by far the greater amount was the product of secret stills, which was peddled in small quantities to the consumer at lower prices than could be charged by regular dealers who paid the tax. Thus it was, that long before federal prohibition enactment, both the Internal Revenue Department and the distillers knew positively that *there was a limit on the rate of tax*, which might be increased with the increase of the general money supply, and with the increased cost of living, *but beyond which the Government could not go in fixing the tax on spirituous liquor*. The registered distilleries paid the tax, which was paid, eventually, of course, by the consumer, "Moonshine," now "bootleg," was so easily made, and the profits so great when the "beyond the limit tax" was imposed, *that the Internal Revenue Department was no more able to cope with the secret still then than it is now*.

The Internal Revenue experts decided in 1875 that the financial condition of the country would permit of a tax

of 90 cents per gallon, with a reasonable hope of collection, and this rate continued until 1894, when, to offset some of the loss in duties by the tariff reduction of the Cleveland administration, it was made \$1.10 per gallon. Even when the act of 1898, to provide funds for the prosecution of the war with Spain doubled the tax on malt liquors, the tax on distilled spirits remained at \$1.10, which was considered to be the "limit rate" at that time.

In 1917, for the World War, Congress increased the tax, first to \$2.20 and then to \$4.40 per gallon. Then came prohibition of manufacture. The tax on "medicinal whiskey" was made \$1.10 early in 1928. None is allowed to be made, and very little allowed to be tax-paid. The prohibition price is enormous, the demand is nationwide. Nobody knows what the secret still is doing: The guessing is good, however. We do know the tax-and-duty-paid distilled spirits consumed in 1913 amounted to 144,643,861 gallons, and that there was a material increase in 1914. No one, except him who wants to, believes that the amount has decreased since that time. (All the preceding figures are from Government statistics.)

With this tax legislation, of which I have given a résumé, the liquor traffic had nothing to do, except as taxpayers. The Federal legislation which they helped to outline belongs to the second class which I have mentioned. It was enacted into Federal laws which were, in every case, fair and just, and were, in every case, made for improvement in the quality of "commercial" whiskey. This means the average whiskey which the consumer obtained in the market.

There was no "bonded period" in the early history

of internal revenue taxation. The first tax was a compulsory cash payment to be made immediately after the whiskey was distilled. Then there came a short period when taxes were not collected, until one year after distillation. After that came the three year bonded period, when the tax was made 90 cents per gallon, and the "Carlisle Bill" of outage allowance, sponsored by Senator Carlisle of Kentucky, himself considered one of the best judges of whiskey in the country at the time. The outage law provided for a tax allowance by the government on the whiskey lost by evaporation during the three years in bond.

Then, in turn, came the "Export law" which permitted the exportation of whiskey in bond, the "Extension of the Bonded Period" from three to eight years, with an extension of the outage allowance and finally the "Bottled-in-Bond" law, which was the Government's guarantee to the American citizen of the age and strength of American whiskey. With the "Bottled-in-Bond" law as a climax the "depraved" American liquor traffic supplied the American consumer with the best whiskey that was ever made and sold to any civilized people, with the Government's guarantee on every bottle of bottled-in-bond liquor.

In the early days of no bonding, and of short time bonding, practically all whiskey was sold "straight" as it came from the small stills, or "blended" by "rectifiers" making it part "spirits" (alcohol) and part whiskey. Both kinds were poor in quality as compared with the products of more recent times. The "straight" was raw, while the "blended" was mostly alcohol, which has always cost less to make than whiskey. Alcohol, known to the

beverage trade as "spirits," as first made in this country was very crude. It had to be redistilled often, and always rectified through charcoal leech tubs by rectifying establishments, where it was also reduced to potable strength before being used for beverage purposes. The purpose of the rectifier was to eliminate the ethers given off by the alcohol in order to procure a spirit as near neutral as possible, so that it would partake of the nature of whatever was added to it to make a blend of whiskey, gin, rum, or brandy. With the advent of patent alcohol stills, with their numerous chambers and patent filters, spirits for beverage purposes reached a high degree of perfection, and were ready for use for blending as soon as made. They never improved to any extent with age.

Whiskey, on the contrary, is unfit to drink when it is first made, as it contains certain constituents very injurious to the human system. These, by a process similar to chemical oxidation, become modified and mellowed by long storage in wood, and impart to the whiskey the fine flavor and aroma desired by all users who do not drink simply for the intoxicating effect.

The United States pharmacopoeia definition of whiskey is, "An alcoholic liquor obtained by the distillation of the mash of fermented grain, (usually a mixture of corn, wheat and rye) and *at least four years old*" (italics are mine).

The majority of distillers made their whiskey from formulas which secured the heaviest body and fullest flavor possible, so that in blending a small quantity would "cover" a large quantity of spirits. This was especially true of rye distillers, as rye cost more to make than Bourbon, and rye blends brought a much higher price.

Coincident with the extension of the bonding period, some antagonism started between the distiller and the blender, which increased with the eight year extension, and the passage of the bottled-in-bond law, and became intense at the time of the passage of the Federal Pure Food Bill, for which Dr. Harvey W. Wiley was more responsible than any other one person. Dr. Wiley took his whiskey straight. Blends were an abomination to him. He had the support of the straight bottled-in-bond whiskey end of the trade, while the blenders opposed him strongly. I state here, with pardonable pride, that "Streit's Straight Rye Blend," as blended and bottled by my old firm of Samuel Streit & Company, was the only bottled whiskey in the United States, except "bottled-in-bond," which complied in every way with all the provisions respecting whiskey in the Pure Food Bill, when it became a law.

There were two kinds of whiskey commonly used in the United States—Bourbon and Rye. While there was some consumption of imported Scotch, it never amounted to much more than a fad, more particularly of the well-to-do classes. Though Bourbon and rye were made in several states, most of the rye was made in Pennsylvania and Maryland; and Bourbon practically meant Kentucky whiskey. Bourbon was distilled from a mash made of corn with a small percentage of "small grain" usually barley malt; while rye, as its name implies, was distilled from a rye mash, having a small percentage of malted barley or malted rye.

Scotch whiskey is made from barley malt. When I first visited a Scotch whiskey distillery and blending establishment, I was pretty well acquainted with the dis-

tilling methods of our own country. Our distillers were proud of their plants and their product, and always willing to take strangers through and explain methods. I knew American blending methods, as we were blenders ourselves. I wanted to learn Scotch methods, because the early American knowledge of distilling and blending came from Scotland. My Scotch friend, thinking of me only as an importer, at first talked freely, especially about the age of the Scotch blends we were buying, which he told me were made of Highland malt, the cheapest not less than five years old, while the best cased Scotch was "much older than that." When my questions disclosed the fact that I knew something of distilling and blending processes in America, the canny Scot shut up like a clam.

I did learn, however, before the silence descended on my informant, that the heavy bodied whiskeys, like John Ramsay's Islay Whiskey, were made at distilleries in lower altitudes, while the lighter bodied and finer flavored, like Smith's Glenlivet, were made in the higher altitudes of the Highlands. Their cooperage was not charred like ours to assist in purifying the whiskey during the aging period, and our steam-heated ware-houses for storage were not known over there at all. Their whiskey was stored in stone cold buildings, with no artificial heat. I also learned that we blenders in America were babes in the art of blending the smallest amount of whiskey with the largest amount of "patent still" (meaning the same as our "spirits," and pronounced "paintent," with the accent on the paint) to produce a commercial whiskey blend at low cost.

I have still some old cost sheets, salvaged from the

wreck of our business. I have one before me now which shows the cost price per case, and I could have bought cheaper grades had I so desired, to have been \$2.44 f.o.b. Leith. Attention, law breakers, who pay \$85 per case for your "Old Liqueur." I should also like to call the general attention to the fact that seizures by the Coast Guard are always headlined in the papers at a value of \$100 per case. For example—the S.S. Federal-ship seized over three hundred miles from our Pacific coast, had a cargo of 12,500 cases, cleared from Vancouver. Seized ship was brought into San Francisco—value of cargo estimated by prohibition enforcement officials, as usual, \$100 per case—Headlined in the press of the nation as \$1,250,000 seizure value—Great jubilation by Anti-Saloon League and other prohibitionists—Actual cost per case considerably under \$5. But—Federal Courts ordered release of the vessel and the owners are claiming damages from our government, based on the value of the cargo as estimated by Government Prohibition Enforcement officials!

I know nothing of the way the bootleg business is being conducted, but I do know the Scotch blender. When the American bootlegger comes to him, money in hand, with an order for thousands of cases, the Scotchman knows it is for an outlawed market, and will not come into competition with his regular, legitimate export trade. It does not stand to reason that he breaks his neck making his best blends. Labels no longer have any significance in the American market, and the "importer" can buy in non-refillable bottles at a mere trifle extra per case. Hence the quality of \$85 per case Scotch whiskey today, if it should happen to be really smuggled, and not

concocted within a few miles of your own home, depends entirely on what the smuggling bootlegger wishes to pay for it, and what the Scotch blender wishes to give him for his money. I admit that once you get it, it is safer to drink than "domestic Scotch." The price for smuggled goods is hardly more exorbitant than that of the bit one may legally buy. One pays five dollars a pint to the druggist, doctor's prescription from \$2-up, extra, for a "Commercial" bottled-in-bond bourbon, which would have cost fifty cents tax-paid, in a "wicked" saloon. No wonder the poor man has the makings in his own home.

I have said that American distillers were proud of their plants. Many of them were situated in the "Blue Grass Region" of Kentucky. Famous for the breeding of fine horses, often the best horses and the best distilleries had the same owners, and their estates were places of great beauty, the pride of the surrounding country. The distilleries were located in the gorgeous settings provided by the most beautiful farming country to be found anywhere in the United States. This was especially the case around Lexington and Frankfort, Kentucky, where one driving along beautiful roads could see brood-mares of national reputation, paddocked behind white fences, nibbling bluegrass, their suckling colts beside them.

A number of distilleries were located in Maryland, West Virginia, and Eastern Pennsylvania, all making a heavy-bodied rye whiskey; but it was in the historic Monongahela district that by far the greatest amount of rye was made. Probably the most typical distillery of the district, was the "Large," which had been making rye whiskey for the Large family, by the same formula, since 1796, afterwards known as The Large Distilling

Company. I choose this distillery and its product to show the kind of business that was ruined by the prohibition acts, not only because, in my opinion, Large bottled-in-bond was the best commercial rye, but also, because my statements are repetitions of testimony given at Washington which can all be checked by affidavits and testimony before Tax Unit and the United States Board of Tax Appeals, on file at Washington, from which they are taken. (See also published decision—*The United States Daily*—Washington, D.C., Sept. 27, 28, 1927.) Having concentrated on the description of one kind of wine, I shall follow the same plan, and describe only one whiskey, following those descriptions already published in Government court proceedings, to show what sort of liquor was obtainable in this country, in contrast to the kind of so-called whiskey which is flooding the market at the present time.

Historically my first introduction to Large whiskey occurred at the Duquesne Club, during my first visit to Pittsburgh, about 1891. Mr. Pontrefact, at that time the owner of Finch's "Golden Wedding" rye distillery was my host for luncheon. Our firm was a big holder of his whiskey, and Samuel Streit frequently had Mr. Pontrefact as his guest at his shooting and fishing preserves. On our arrival at the Club, my host ordered two Large highballs, but he explained that the title applied only to the name, and not to the size of the drink. I was rather surprised, as I had noticed that his own brand, Golden Wedding, was on the club wine list, but I made no comment, drank the highball and found it good—so good, in fact, that I asked Mr. Pontrefact about the whiskey. He informed me that it was from a small distillery back

in the mountains, whose output was taken up locally by old families in and about Pittsburgh. The brand was historic in the neighborhood as it had been made by the same family for a number of generations.

As I went about Pittsburgh I made further inquiries about the brand from the trade, as I had thought that I had known about all the important brands of Monongahela rye, having checked up certificates for thousands of barrels of nationally known brands such as Guckenheim, Finch's "Golden Wedding," Gibson, Overholt, etc., but I had never heard of Large. I learned that though it had the highest reputation for quality in the homes and clubs of the old families, it was not much handled by the trade, as it was not a "blending" whiskey. It had fine flavor and beautiful aroma, but it was too light-bodied for blending purposes, so the trade was not especially interested in that period when practically all commercial whiskey was blended whiskey.

A member of one of the representative wholesale liquor firms of the city, Frederick C. Renziehausen, had purchased in 1884 an interest from Henry Large, Jr., who owned the Large farm, and made the whiskey exactly as his forefathers had. Mr. Renziehausen never interfered in any way, either in the making of the whiskey or its sale, but after Mr. Large's death in 1895, he purchased (1897) from the estate the farm, the distillery, and the old family formula by which the whiskey was made.

I visited the distillery shortly after this change in ownership. The old farmhouse was in fairly good condition but the distillery buildings were few and small, old and dilapidated. There were fine springs of pure soft

water on the property, which nestled cozily against the mountain, and fronted on the old country road for a long distance, until it crossed Peter's Creek, a tributary of the Monongahela River. With the old buildings it was all most picturesque, but as a commercial proposition it looked chilly. There was a five mile haul through beautiful country, but over a rough mountain road, to the nearest railroad.

After the bottled-in-bond law came in 1897, Mr. Renziehausen was the sole owner and the improvement of the property began. A new distillery was built, wherein exactly the same whiskey was made as always had been produced on the farm. Whiskey warehouses of the most modern pattern were added. In 1907 fire destroyed the distillery building, only to cause it to be immediately replaced by a larger one. By 1910 the Large distillery had become one of the most modern and efficient distillery plants in the United States, with freight facilities second to none, as the Wabash railroad's new eastern connection paralleled Peter's Creek, one of the boundaries of the property, had sidings to the buildings for the unloading of raw materials, and for the shipment of a whiskey which was not changed in the slightest degree from the rye produced at the same spot in Colonial days.

Mr. Renziehausen was proud of his plant and the reputation of his whiskey, and he had plans for wider distribution which he wished to carry out. The money and of the work did not interest him at all. He had an ideal, and was interested only in its achievement.

My most recent visit to the Large distillery was a decided contrast to my first. The first time we reached the property by a buggy ride over a ratty mountain road,

after having left a bumpy local train which brought us from Pittsburgh. The last time the entire trip was made by motor. We crossed the Monongahela river at Pittsburgh, and followed it until we reached the plant, over a new, well-paved state highway. Long before we arrived we could see the great symmetrical brick stack. The distillery building itself was as nearly fireproof as the ingenuity of architects and builders could make it. Every modern device for conveying the grain direct from the freight car at the distillery platform, for inspecting it, through the process of fermentation and distillation, into the finest rye whiskey, was incorporated into that building. Nearby, in a smaller building, was a laboratory with a graduate biologist in charge, to propagate scientifically the yeast germs and supervise fermentation. There were four fireproof warehouses ranging from 10,000 to 16,000 barrels capacity, patent-racked and steam-heated to maintain the same temperature summer and winter, while the whiskey ripened in wood. Railroad side tracks made it possible to roll the barrels directly from the warehouse platform into the cars. The "Bottling house" was a model of scientific construction, as efficient as a Ford factory. It contained the latest machinery for washing, labeling, capping and casing the whiskey, each operation being carried on like clockwork by a conveyer system which finally landed the completed case of whiskey on the shipping platform, to be loaded into freight cars standing on the tracks beside it.

The same whiskey, which had been made in the same location, with the same pure spring water, ever since the very beginning of the nation, was now matured in its modern warehouses by the natural method of aging in

wood, brought to the highest degree of practical efficiency. It was bottled in bond for consumption as commercial whiskey of not less than four years age, and at a potable strength of 100 proof, which the bottled-in-bond law required. The original beauty of the Large farm had not been overlooked, in fact had been enhanced by the planting of shrubbery and lawns, laid out by a landscape gardener of national reputation.

The Large Distillery was typical of the modern American distilleries of the better class. There were Kentucky distilleries similar, and more of them than there were in Pennsylvania, because Bourbon was more often bottled-in-bond than was rye. Large was the finest rye at any legal age, because of its light body and fine flavor, to be bottled-in-bond in its natural condition of 100 proof.

The history of the distribution of Large also may be cited to typify both the growth and the various changes in the legal distribution of whiskey in this country brought about by the bottled-in-bond law. This record may also be found at Washington. For a longer period than was true of most small farmer-distiller plants, the Large output had been sold direct to the consumer, probably because it was located in a district where good whiskey was understood and appreciated, and where it was preferred "Straight" rather than "Blended."

Large was not known outside the territory adjacent to Pittsburgh, when the Large Distilling Company began its campaign to make it known wherever rye whiskey was used. A small exhibit of their product in barrel had been made at the Chicago World's Fair, but after the passage of the bottled-in-bond law exhibits of Large were made in glass at every world's fair and international exposition

of any importance. After the Chicago exhibition in 1893, Large Whiskey had the enviable record of receiving the highest recognition wherever it was exhibited. It was awarded the Grand Prize with gold medal, the highest award, at Paris in 1900; St. Louis, 1904; Liege, 1905; Milan, 1906; Jamestown, 1907; Brussels, 1910; Ghent, 1913; London, 1914, and San Francisco, 1915. No other whiskey in the world ever had such international recognition for high quality. There is bitter irony in the fact, that since prohibition was enacted in this country Large has won still another international reward. U. S. Government permission was granted for the shipment of an exhibit to the world's fair at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1923 and while free-born Americans were poisoning themselves with the product of illicit stills, an American made whiskey took the Grand Prize in South America, over whiskeys from every other place in the world where they are legally made!

It was reputable establishments like this, with its safeguards of health, to which prohibition brought practical confiscation.

I know something of the drinking in clubs today. It is mostly "Scotch" that is used in such places. What the working man is drinking, I do not know. I like this world too well to investigate by sampling it. When I am told, as I frequently am, by the proponent of prohibition that there is only five per cent of the amount of whiskey used now that there was formerly, I believe him. That is I believe him, if by whiskey the prohibitionist means whiskey. If he includes all the hard liquor, of high alcoholic content, and of vary shades of tan and brown color, which masquerades as whiskey, I do not believe him. What-

ever the amount used by the working-man, it is not Scotch at \$85 to \$100 a case that drives him mad. It is the output of the small, secret still, and no one knows how much nor how injurious is the product of the secret stills in this country today. As prohibition continues, Yankee ingenuity will increase the quantity, as smuggling is stopped, to meet the ever present demand—"Corn sugar" has already been invented as a substitute for grain mash.

An Associated Press Dispatch, printed in the *Los Angeles Times*, July 11, 1927, said: "Less than one per cent of the liquor consumed in the United States is brought into this country from abroad, Treasury officials estimated today, at a conference of Prohibition administrators."

M. Ramsay, staff correspondent, Universal Service, reported the following news item from Washington, Aug. 20, 1927:

Officially declared liquor exports from Canada to the United States reached the huge total of 7,360,000 gallons last year, statistics obtained at the treasury today disclosed. These figures were embodied in Canadian government reports, which showed that the liquor openly declared for shipment to this country has nearly doubled in quantity since 1924.

These figures represent only the *legally declared* liquor exports from Canadian bond, and we have no means of getting information as to the entire amount of liquor coming into this country from Canada, from Mexico, from the West Indies, or direct from European and other ports, smuggled through our lines on Atlantic or Pacific coast. Whatever the total amount is, we have officials of the United States treasury as authority for the statement that it is only one per cent of the amount con-

sumed in the country! As these smuggled liquors represent only a small amount of the total consumption, so also do they represent in their entirety consumption for which the wealthier classes are responsible. They come too high for the working man, so he takes what he can get.

In making an estimate of what the secret still is doing, we can get some help from figures of 1913. At that time the Scotch whiskey, together with all other imported spirits used, was less than 3 per cent of all the ardent spirits of domestic manufacture consumed in the country, and this less-than-three per cent was almost entirely taken by the wealthier citizens of the country..

An estimate of one million secret stills making whiskey in American homes will give some idea of the true figures for the consumption of ardent spirits in Prohibition America. The ratio in 1913 stood at a little over 4,000,000 to 140,000,000 of imported spirits to domestic manufactured consumed. Take into your calculations the fact that the 4,000,000 for 1913 represents all the spirits that were imported from all countries, while in 1926, from Canada alone, the declared shipments were over 7,000,000. Does that look as if the consumption of hard liquors was falling off?

It is possible to make a comparison of the amounts used before and since the prohibition enactments, but as the amounts for the current year are purely hypothetical, each side will work out a different set of figures. To anyone looking at the two news items quoted above, it is obvious however, that the honest estimates are more likely to be too small than too large.

It is not possible, however, to make any adequate comparison of the qualities of the liquors available in 1913

with those just as easily available to rich and poor, young and old, today. Today even the liquor sold on prescription is not trustworthy, and that which is peddled so freely by "the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker" is generally rotten, and frequently poisonous.

The commercial liquor procurable in the United States up to 1919 was the best in the world, and was sold under our government's guarantee.

Law prohibits the advertising of intoxicating liquors in the United States. It must be understood thoroughly that no mention of mine, however enthusiastic, can be construed as an advertisement, for the wines I have seen fit to praise are absolutely not for sale. Wines or liquors other than bottled-in-bond which may be offered by bootleggers bearing labels of these well known old-time beverages are not genuine, while the bottled-in-bond labels are often misleading. Though it is a penitentiary offense, with severe penalties, to counterfeit United States Government stamps, this has become a thriving industry during the last ten years of blessed memory. Our Government, apparently under Prohibition enforcement, caring as little to protect its own prestige against counterfeiting as it does to protect the life of its citizens against poisonous liquor. I wish particularly to call attention to the fact that all of my statements here contained relative to distilled spirits are historical, and where my data is not to be found in encyclopedic articles it will be found in Washington in the form of affidavits presented to the Income Tax Unit or as evidence given under oath to the Income Tax Board of Appeals. This book is not advertising propaganda.

CHAPTER XIII

GOOD MEN AND TRUE

SO many of the men prominent in the liquor traffic at the time of the passing of the prohibition enactments are still living, and so many others are alive in the memories of those who knew and respected them that it is necessary to mention only a few examples, most of whom I knew personally, to bring out the strong contrast between them and the leaders of the opposition. Their characters are known to their fellow citizens in their own communities.

As brought out in the "Discipline" of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its early days in America, a number of its preachers practiced the distilling and selling of liquor to eke out an existence badly provided for by their poor livings. These men, however, compared ill in patriotism with the regular distillers, the Scotch-Irish-Americans of the Monongahela and Kentucky districts, who, as has been shown, took active part in the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War.

The two greatest presidents this country has ever had were both participants in the liquor traffic. George Washington, the "Father of his Country" was a distiller, and a good one.

Abraham Lincoln, with his partner, William F. Berry, who had been running a none too successful little general store in New Salem, in March, 1833, took out

a Tavern License. This license specifically gave them permission to sell French brandy, peach brandy, apple brandy, Holland gin, domestic gin, wine, rum, and whiskey, naming the price to be asked for each. The prices ranged from 12½c (a bit, a coin in use at the time) to 25c per half pint. Lincoln, like many another liquor dealer, did not drink, but he did not for that reason deem it incumbent upon him to curtail the rights of others in that respect. Asked if he was a temperance man, Lincoln replied: "I am not a temperance man, but I am temperate to this extent: I don't drink."

Messrs. Gourd and Tournade of New York handled only high grade imported wines and spirits, and were the sole agents for Benedictine in this country. Incidentally, Benedictine was a liqueur which was originated by the Benedictine monks, and made only by them until the time the Government of France expelled that order, when its manufacture in France was turned over to a lay concern. The fact that the cordial was invented and made by men in holy orders, to many American Protestants, did not signify that it was not good to drink or that it was more poisonous for that reason.

Henry E. Gourd, of this firm of importers, was a cultured gentleman of high literary attainment, and one of the most honored and respected of New York merchants in any line of business. For years before his death the French Hospital of New York City was his special care, and he interested many of the merchants of the city, particularly those of the importing wine trade, in its upkeep. Mr. Gourd was the only New York merchant of his time who had ever been decorated by the

French Government with the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

George G. Brown, of Louisville, Kentucky, was one of the founders and was also first president of the Model License League, which would have done away with the pernicious saloon. He was of the firm of Brown, Forman & Co., whiskey merchants, owners of "Old Forrester" brand whiskey. Mr. Brown was a man who was held in the greatest respect by his fellow citizens, and his family had the best of social standing in Louisville, a city that has always been known as one where birth and breeding, rather than money, has made for social prestige. I have previously mentioned Senator Leland Stanford, and Messrs. Larrimore and Guasti whose characters were well known on our Pacific Coast.

In Pittsburgh two men in the liquor trade who have but recently passed on are A. J. Sunstein and S. Rosenbloom. Both of them left charitable bequests which were reported throughout the country, bequests that went to general Pittsburgh charities, and not alone for the benefit of their own religion.

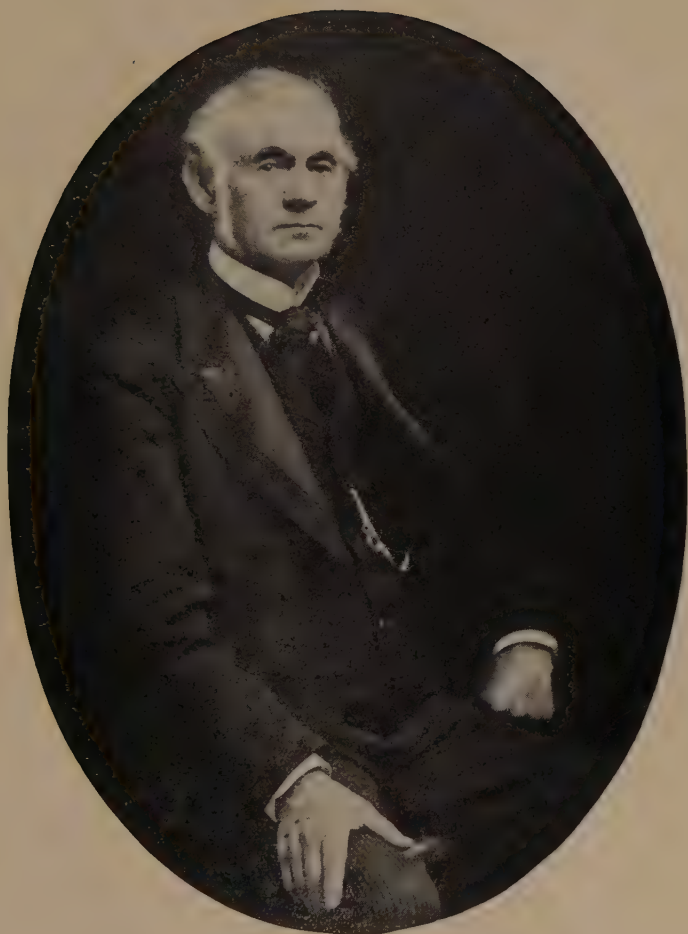
St. Louis has been made one of the most beautiful cities in the United States largely through the generosity of her brewers. The brewers of Milwaukee and other cities also were always leaders with their generous contributions for every civic improvement.

During the World War no one could have suffered more from the anomalous position of being a German-born American citizen than did Mrs. Lilly Busch, daughter of Eberhard Anheuser, and widow of Adolphus Busch, both of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, which was the largest of its kind in America. The

breaking out of the war found her visiting in Germany. Her German property was seized by the German government because she was an American citizen, and her American property was interned by the United States under the alien property law, because she was in Germany. Her lack of resentment was shown on her return to this country. Possessing thirty acres of beautiful gardens in Pasadena, which for years had been open to the public, she decided to turn them over to the American Legion, and permit a small admission fee to be charged. Grand Army veterans were given positions as gatekeepers and patrolmen. This arrangement was begun in 1920, and since that time the American Legion has administered \$113,000 from this source, which has been used to help disabled war veterans and their families, the benefits reaching ex-service men, whether members of the Legion or not. When Mrs. Busch died in February, 1928, she was buried with full military honors accorded by the American Legion, and she, with Madame Schumann-Heink, another German-born American, are known throughout the country as the "Mothers of the American Legion."

Because I was closer to him than to any other man in the trade, I can speak more at length of the man who taught me all I know about the business and a great deal else beside, Samuel Streit. Mr. Streit, well known as the "Nestor of the New York trade in spirits," stood for all that a man can of honesty and fairness, both in business and in his relations with the world in general.

Born in 1827 the son of a Canadian farmer, he, like Wesley, early learned the necessity of economy, but the economy he learned was that of independence, and not



SAMUEL STREIT

From his own photograph about 1912.

that of sycophancy. Reverses in the family made it necessary to mortgage part of their large acreage. Young Streit saw that this mortgage was fretting his mother, who was not strong, so at the age of sixteen he told her not to worry, that he would pay the mortgage. Working day and night he succeeded in reaping all the crops on the home farm, often getting his men and teams out at midnight to go to work. He then made considerable money by traveling about the countryside harvesting for other farmers; he also taught school during the winter. He found this way of making money too slow for his ambitious hope, so at the age of eighteen he went to Troy, N. Y., where more by accident than intention he entered the "liquor traffic." Invited to become a member of the Troy firm for which he had worked faithfully he decided instead to start out on his own, and in 1856 he founded the firm of Samuel Streit & Co. in New York City. He took an active interest in the firm until he died in 1918, at the age of ninety-one.

In business Mr. Streit was keen but square, and he expected a square deal in return. By hard work and square dealing he made a good fortune as well as a good reputation. This was before the enactment of bonding laws, when whiskey was bought as soon as it was stilled and the quality sold depended largely on the merchant's honesty.

Always a quiet person, he cared little for social life outside of his family, to which he was devoted. He helped each of his three brothers in their business as well as the one who lived on the old home farm; and to his own children he was an ideal father. Next to his family, his great love in life was the outdoors; he was a tireless

hunter and fisherman. He belonged to hunting and fishing clubs all over the country, and followed a regular routine of sports, always meeting each open season at the proper place for the best results. He had the wide outlook and the candor so often developed by long days and nights in the open. Mr. Streit owned his own fishing and hunting preserves in New York state, and after he was seventy he owned the fishing rights of his own salmon river, the Jacquet, in New Brunswick. He traveled to North Carolina for quail when he was eighty. For five years he was "High Line" at Miami on the "Bone Fish," the honor which is so much sought by winter fishermen there. One year an elderly millionaire from Philadelphia beat him. This man had a fashionable tailor make him a suit, something on the lines of a naval officer's uniform, trimmed with gold braid. With it he wore a cap on which was "High Line" in gold letters, and in this rig he strutted about the Royal Palms Hotel, much to Mr. Streit's amusement and disgust. Mr. Streit was then eighty-seven, but the next year he was once again "High Line," and he presented the Philadelphia man with a moth ball in which to pack away his pretty clothes. When Mr. Streit died he was at Palm Beach, his beloved rods and tackle close at hand.

A reticent man, no one ever knew of his charities except by accident. His family knows that he was a generous supporter of the church which he attended regularly, but in which he was not particularly active. Often since his death I have been told of his generosity by its beneficiaries, the only way one would ever be able to learn of them. One would gather from the men who have guided him through the wilds on his hunting and

fishing trips that it was his custom to provision them and their families for the winter, before he left them to return to civilization. His record for honesty was such that he had a right to be as proud of his enemies as he was of his friends.

So much for individuals. For the men of the trade as a whole I would say that they were usually the first to be asked for donations, as they were known to be the readiest and most generous givers to charities and to works for civic betterment. The World War showed them to be equally prompt in patriotic endeavor, although at that time they were admittedly on the eve of having their business destroyed and their property made valueless.

This is essentially true of the larger men in the trade (speaking financially), but it is true in a proportionate degree of that most degraded of us all, the saloon-keeper. No Salvation Army lassie was ever known to have been insulted in a saloon; these girls went into the worst of them to make collections, and it can readily be ascertained that the funds donated by saloon-keepers was no small percentage of the entire funds of the Salvation Army.

The vast majority of the men involved in the liquor traffic were good men, and true, though they made no claims to "immediate perfection." It is true that many of them, although religiously inclined, were made to feel that they were not wanted in the churches. Surely "this IS the time for all good men and true to come to the aid" of the country, and of the coming generation.

CHAPTER XIV

DANGER

IT is indeed time for "all good men and true," and all good women, too, to arouse themselves to the grave danger wherein this country stands. It is impossible to pick up a daily paper in any part of the country at the present time, and reading it intelligently fail to see the straws that show which way the wind is blowing. We are in a fair way to be completely dominated by the noisy minority, by soft thinking and loud speaking, by the "Church Militant."

The enactment of prohibition is but a symptom. It is a most important symptom, a deadly symptom, because of the horrors it has bred; but it is, nevertheless, only a symptom of the fact that the intolerant church-minded people of the country intend to force their will upon the people by any means, fair or foul. Note that I do not say the religious people, nor the spiritually-minded people, but the church-minded people—the "Reverend Politicians."

Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, has sounded a warning. He says: "No longer does American law conform to its century-old conception of a system to protect life, liberty, and property, and to promote happiness. It is fast becoming a system of control, subjecting all of the people to the social and moral precepts of some of the

people, and aiming to secure personal righteousness through legislative fiat."

That this warning is justified is evident. At the closing session of the southeastern prohibition convention of the Anti-Saloon League, at St. Petersburg, Fla., March 7, 1928, resolutions were passed demanding the nomination of candidates in the coming campaign who had proved themselves dry in performance as well as in promises. In doing so the Anti-Saloon League was within its rights, but imbedded in that resolution was the following paragraph:

The organized interests opposed to prohibition are using all their power to break down or nullify the eighteenth amendment. And since the Anti-Saloon League is the Church in action against the beverage liquor traffic, this regional conference accepts its responsibility in this crisis and we now array ourselves in the front line of battle *to see that the will of the Church* and the American people is accomplished in the final victory for a sober nation and the utter routing of the outlawed liquor traffic.

Please note that in this burst of Methodist eloquence the will of the American people is secondary to the will of the Church, and that there is an open and unequivocal announcement not only that the Anti-Saloon League is the "Church" but that the Church must be obeyed.

Since the attainment of that Federal victory which was their ultimate goal, these same Methodist leaders have come out in the open to claim bodily the credit (which is truly theirs) for the nullification of our constitutional rights to personal liberty by the eighteenth amendment which nullifies our original constitution itself. Their only reason for their vociferous public glorification of themselves and of their church is their belief

that, no matter how many of us who are not Methodists may object, no one in these United States can free himself from the legal shackles which they have so firmly welded.

With the understanding of this Methodist control in the making of our laws, many of us who never before took any interest are now very much interested in the inside workings of this church organization: As their leaders are all masters of publicity propaganda, only such reports of their annual conferences are given out for publication as have been carefully edited by themselves in their secret meetings. Even with this knowledge, it is interesting to read of the *open* proceedings of the seventy-first annual Newark, Conference, which is typical of all of them, as reported by that well known and reliable Newark *Evening News* of March 27, 1928.

We cannot help but note the same methods of inside politics explained by our Methodist historian, Professor Faulkner, as used at the first Baltimore Conference in 1784 (see pages —) are still being used by the bishops of that organization today, not only to control each conference but also to perpetuate their control. The annual allotment of pulpits is still the most important part of every conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America— and this important action does not take place until every other question is settled. The rich churches today have no cause for worry over what kind of preaching they will sit under, that is all fixed to their satisfaction in private conference by the Methodist leaders, who also fix everything else to their own satisfaction. "In Committee," before the open conference is held, everything is religiously cut and dried with the precision that political

bosses use to run their wards, and patronage is the basis for the political domination in both. It is the rank and file of the preachers who do the worrying and are still kept under control by the same astute "annual allotment" as was used by Bishop Asbury. It will be interesting to note what will happen to the Rev. R. W. Brown of Scotch Plains who jumped the traces when he, as reported by the *Newark News*, objected to the soft pedal being used in the war on tobacco which was advocated by the more astute political leaders as being good politics just at this time. The rev. gentleman's objection was sustained, however, when he argued that such a resolution if passed now would tend to make Methodists take a backward step in their past contention that "tobacco stunts the mind." He was also ably assisted in his argument by the Rev. E. A. Quimby, who arose to shout "This Conference does not need stunting." The last business before the report on the annual allotment of preachers was the adoption of the following "Committee report," which gives us the Methodist bishops' idea of sending out missionaries to spread their religion abroad to convert the "benighted heathen" without regard for the world-wide political troubles their meddling has already accomplished.

The following, from the recommitted report of the social service commission was adopted:

We of the Methodist Episcopal Church who secured our religious freedom and administrative independence at the Baltimore Conference in 1784 extend to our brothers in India and China our sympathy and best wishes for success in securing their religious self-determination and freedom from foreign control, and recommend the creation of an automatic method of adjustment whereby

our churches in these countries may be granted autonomy as rapidly as they are prepared to exercise it.

Will some of these Methodist bishops explain in common-sense English just what this report on their foreign or, as they now term it, "world-wide" church extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, really means. The English Government has recognized their meddling as one of the main causes responsible for the undermining of the English authority in India, while our own State Department knows of the serious damage this same meddling has accomplished against the previous good-will of China for everything American.

That the laymen of the Methodist Church, however, are not all in accord with their bishops the following news item clipped from the *New York Times* of March 31st would appear to prove. This was from the report of the New York Annual Methodist Conference which was held immediately after that of Newark, N. J.

The laymen, after warm debate, adopted resolutions to be sent to the Quadrennial General Methodist Conference, which will be held in Kansas City in May. The resolution read:

Resolved, That our delegates to the General Conference, especially that one of them who shall be a member of the Committee on Episcopacy, be and hereby are requested to urge by their active support of legislation.

That no general superintendent (another name for bishop) shall be chosen by the General Conference to fill the vacancies resulting from death and retirement.

That the number of bishops assigned to foreign work be materially lessened.

Evidently the laymen believe there are too many bishops. After the Methodist political religious leaders had successfully accomplished the nullification of our American Constitution in so far as our personal liberty was guaranteed to us by that document, they no longer saw the necessity of camouflaging their political activities here in America under the Anti-Saloon League cloak.

Also perhaps better to control the collection and distribution of funds, they formed their own organization of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, entirely Methodist in its promotion and in its officers, while it boldly publishes its purpose of American political domination. The Methodist Church is in the saddle, and by means of this Board intends to ride this country's political action in the future at Washington. Although their "Board" takes over the main work and subordinates the Anti-Saloon League, that organization is still a going concern with its superintendents and higher officers under Methodist control; but it, with its "field workers," has now more to do with the spread of world-wide Prohibition in conjunction with the world-wide missionary work of the Methodist Church. "Pussyfoot" Johnson gained his nickname as one of the most successful field workers in the State "Wide-Dry" campaigns. He was transferred to the world-wide field. In England he was far from being the success expected from his American record. He was sent to spread the Prohibition gospel to the heathen, was recently brought back from that missionary work to assist in collecting much needed funds for the Anti-Saloon League, and has for the past year been drumming this country for contributions with his glowing accounts from the pulpits of his

successful efforts to make India dry. All intelligent people know that the indescribably poor, ignorant, caste-bound people of India have been the best example of a prohibition "converted" nation ever since Mohammed's time. As they have also been an example of a people as a whole turned from the drinking of alcoholic beverages to be a nation addicted to the use of harmful drugs.

Dr. William M. Gilbert, of the faculty of Drew Theological Seminary, preached a militant sermon in Madison, N. J., early in February, 1928, his subject being "Has prohibition failed?" Dr. Gilbert, as a teacher at the present fountainhead of Methodism, naturally affirms that it has not, and states, as a fact and with no slightest attempt to back his statements with proof, that prohibition has been the greatest factor in the economic improvement that has taken place in this country during the last few years. Prohibition is not a failure, he says, while in the next breath he advises calling out the militia to enforce it! "Yellow" and "white-livered" are two of the adjectives that he applied to those who do not think prohibition can be enforced. This tirade was called a "sermon."

Old Daniel Drew, who founded Drew Seminary, would be pleased if he could hear, where he is, the forceful language of this representative of his school. He did not mind strong language. Admittedly the greatest scoundrel that ever robbed in Wall Street, the man who invented false stock issuing, Drew was used to all kinds of hard words. He founded the theological seminary, not as a sop to conscience, for he had none, but because he wanted his name perpetuated. He sometimes found it painfully inconvenient to keep his pledges to the seminary, and sometimes he didn't do it. He had at least this

in common with Dr. Gilbert, he would have loved to call out the militia to suppress those who disagreed with him, and when he was engaged in wrecking the Erie Railroad, he did call on the police to stand guard about the Jersey City hotel where he was hiding from the New York law.

Methodists, at Madison, have very recently celebrated the expansion of Drew Seminary into Drew University—by the addition of “Brothers’ College” with their usual methods of self-glorification and publicity for the obtainment of subscriptions to increase amount of the endowment furnished by Baldwin Bros. for Brothers College—it might be of interest to mention that one of the law firm of Baldwin Bros. was the personal attorney for “Charley” Murphy, before his death, the leader of Tammany Hall so excoriated by all Methodist preachers. While Mr. Wm. Boyd, director of publicity and Vice President of the Curtiss Publishing Co. of Philadelphia(*Saturday Evening Post*), took an important part in the announcement of the New University’s expansion.

Clayton A. Penhale, of Madison, answered Dr. Gilbert in a letter published in the Madison Eagle of February 24th. Mr. Penhale admits that he is one of the yellow, white-livered people who disagree with Dr. Gilbert, and then gives numerous reasons for thinking that the Eighteenth Amendment is not the prime reason for the lessening of economic pressure throughout the country. He ends his letter on a note that one would wish the Methodist orators might take to heart, as thinking people have grown weary of seeing them wave the “bloody shirt.” He says:

None of the opinions that I have expressed can be proved to be true. But neither can the opinions reported to have been expressed by Dr. Gilbert.

Please note, however, that I have given them as opinions whereas Dr. Gilbert advances his statements as a matter of knowledge.

Probably Dr. Gilbert will be surprised to learn that there are people so benighted as to believe that the statement, as a known fact, of that which cannot be proved to be true is immoral.

He may even be shocked to discover that there are others, still more benighted, who believe that to apply vulgar names to those whose views differ from theirs also is immoral.

Of the many intellectual men who are battling against the domination of the country by the most narrow minded element of the population, none is more persistent than Samuel Harden Church when as before stated, he told the Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, in the prohibition hearings of 1926, that certain churches were trying to effect an alliance of Church and State, specifically forbidden by the Constitution. Although other prominent educators and thinkers knew of this real reason for our "Predicament under Prohibition"* President Church was one of the first who had the courage to voice that knowledge. By means of speeches and printed articles Colonel Church is striving to awaken the public to the necessity of doing its own thinking and following thought by action. At a meeting held under the auspices of the California Institute of Technology, in February, 1927, at which Dr. Robert Millikan, the eminent scientist, presided, Colonel

* Mr. Walter Lippman, Managing Editor *New York World*, wrote the article which was published in *Harpers Magazine* of December, 1926—"Our Predicament Under Prohibition" which is First Plain Common Sense in its best expression.

Church spoke on "The Danger of Government by Emotion." The admonition he delivered is so timely, as we approach a national election, that I quote at some length.

The total number of graduates from all the colleges and universities of the country is less than one-half of one per cent of our total population, he said. The men who are thus educated are usually the men who have acquired the process of logical thinking. It is their mission to direct the forces by which the world is operated, its progress advanced, and its civilization developed. But above this career of service lies their obligation to guide the statesmanship of the country into safe channels. This can be done only by men who have been educated to think. Government by the unthinking is government by emotion. A large portion of the legislation which has been enacted in this country is based upon unsound impulse, or bigotry, or fanaticism, and these laws are slowly but surely binding the joyous spirit of liberty in shackles of tyranny.

The tyranny of laws is worse than the tyranny of the despot. One can be shaken off, the other makes us helpless. This public passion for passing laws which restrict freedom of conduct is constantly attacking the Constitution itself, which was intended to be the safeguard against public passion. Taking up recent amendments to the Constitution, no observing man will say that the seventeenth amendment, which provides for the popular election of Senators, has given us as high a quality of statesmanship as we had when the upper house was chosen by the legislatures of the various states. The eighteenth amendment commits the fatal blunder of embracing the prohibitive statute itself instead of giving power to Congress (as it should do, and ultimately must do) to legislate for or against liquor in accordance with the varying opinion of the people from time to time in their respective communities.

There are other national perils which come from the false theory of well-meaning but bigoted men that all human conduct should be regulated by law. Some of the religious organizations of this country, impatient at the failure of their preaching against theatre-going, card-playing, dancing, boxing, tobacco, and other

things that are looked upon by immense majorities of our people as innocent and harmless, have organized powerful groups at Washington and in the capitals of the various states, enormously financed, with the object of securing by religious and moral coercion the enactment of laws which will compel the American people to conform their conduct to these narrow views of life.

Again, the national organization known as the Lord's Day Alliance, is insisting, by the same religious pressure, upon preserving those antiquated and obsolete Sunday laws and enacting new ones, the practical effect of which is to allow the rich the enjoyment of practically all forms of recreation on Sunday, while every source of public amusement is rigorously denied to our great industrial population, whose only day of happiness above the drudgery of life is Sunday.

The Constitution of the United States explicitly and forever forbids any union of church and state, but these religious organization, misguided by their zeal for human perfection and working outside of the boundaries of their own churches, are striving to nullify, and to some extent have nullified, this provision.

This flood of oppressive legislation, flowing from the process of government by emotion, has resulted in the creation of an army of spies who stealthily track the footsteps of a citizen with the prime object of putting him in jail. When the work of the spies is ineffective, the government placidly poisons its alcohol, and we then have the spectacle of Uncle Sam emulating the example of Cronus, in mythology, who devoured his own children. We must learn the lesson that no nation can ever be made virtuous by acts of Parliament, and that the human heart is the only table on which the laws of righteousness can be engraved.

There are dragons in the land, and the educated forces of the nation should go forth with indomitable courage and slay them in order that this beloved country of ours may be forever happy and free.

There is only one way that this danger outlined by Colonel Church can be averted. That is for the liberty loving population of the country, whether educated in the

universities or in the more difficult school of life, to awaken to the fact that the voters and legislators of the country are being swayed by emotional moral propaganda. They must think coolly and clearly, and see whither all the paternalistic legislation and proposed legislation is leading, and decide whether it is wise to permit the country to be governed by emotionalists, who are turning from spiritual appeal to the policeman's club to promote their ideas of national good behavior.

The time for "leaving politics to the politicians" is long since past. Every voter should use his vote, but not until he is sure he is voting for what he really wants, and that he has not been swayed by a slogan.

CHAPTER XV

WHAT HOPE?

AND now what is to be done for the Case of Whiskey?

I have made no attempt in this small volume to prove that prohibition is a failure. It would take a still more imaginative statistician than either Professor Fisher or Corradini to estimate how many times the printed matter on either side of this moot question would reach to the moon, if the lines of type were placed end to end, and I do not care to add even a few inches to this measurement. It is my opinion that it is one of the most tragic failures in the history of the world. The facts on which I base this opinion are manifest to all save those who refuse to see them, and no argument of mine will open the eyes of "those who will not see."

I have shown that prohibition was brought about by the unceasing activity of a band of fanatics, whose strongest arguments were the vilification of the men with whom they chanced to differ. These zealots were, in thought and act, direct descendants of the founders of the Methodist Church, wrapping themselves in self-conferred sanctity, as a protection from all answers to their heated arguments. Their main products has always been intolerance; their most important by-product, hypocrisy.

With their Boards of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, their Anti-This and Anti-That leagues,

these intolerant and hypocritical leaders of Methodism are making a determined effort to become the one most important influence in the government of state and nation, maintaining expensive lobbies to that end. In this attempt they will be successful, as they were successful in putting across prohibition on a reluctant public, unless the people in general can be aroused to the danger. The "church militant," the church in action, never sleeps.

The people of this country must make up their minds, and quickly, whether or not they want to be ruled by the modern prototypes of John Wesley, Francis Asbury, and the rest of the "brother's-keepers." The reverend politicians are astute politicians, most of them unhampered by any sense of honor or fair play, and always working on the alleged Jesuitic principle that the end justifies the means.

Understanding thoroughly that the leaders of the old liquor traffic have no desire to be political leaders, nevertheless I have contrasted them with their calumniators, as being men of fit calibre to run enormous producing, selling, and distributing plants, who gave to the world an honest product,—good, legal, and tax-paying.

The spiritual gift to modern civilization of the one class was intolerant hypocrisy; the spirituous gift of the other the best beverages the world has known.

Unbelievable as it may seem to those who have been persuaded by pulpit eloquence that all who had the slightest connection with "Demon Rum" were rascals unworthy of the mercy of God or man, we of the old liquor traffic are patriots, as were the fathers of our trade in this country. There is probably no single class of people in the United States which has obeyed more completely

the rulings of the eighteenth amendment and the various enforcement acts than has ours. We could laugh at the joke American "dram-drinkers" have played on themselves, were it not for the stark tragedy that stalks just off-stage—smuggling, bribery, murder, and growing contempt for all law are a few of the characters who have taken all the fun out of the spectacle.

If we had a strong enough voice we would turn prohibition into modification with government regulation, eliminating as much as possible the idea of profit in the sale; and we hope that the people will eventually see this as the solution of the present tragic difficulties. Taking the profit out of the illegal sale is the simplest and most common sense method of suppressing the illicit still and, at the same time, the bootlegger who peddles its poisonous product—Yet the leaders of Methodism inform the Nation that all who advocate this common sense measure are "white-livered" traitors to their country and are in league with bootleggers and the underworld to nullify the Constitution. To that end, we would like to see a commission comprising some of the biggest intellects in the country, appointed by the Federal Government, to investigate thoroughly all phases of the situation, and to place their findings before the people for Congressional or State action. We would have no fear, then, in leaving the final decision to the common sense of the American people. Up to the present time this sound common sense has corrected our errors in law-making, either by the good practice of appealing or amending, or the bad one of nullifying them. The latter method is the one more easily employed when a bad law becomes part of our Constitution, and is a

policy that has a dangerous effect on the morale of the entire population.

Some ardent Drys tell us that prohibition is a closed question, that it is settled now and forever. This is not true, as millions of our people today consider the wet-or-dry issue as the most important open problem before the country today. It is a question of such tremendous importance that it should occupy the minds of the biggest men of the country, and be studied in its broadest significance, not religiously, not politically, but with the good of the entire nation in mind. We now have had ten years of experimentation and the results are obvious, however distorted by individual bias. Do we need to experiment for fifty years more, while conditions grow worse and worse?

The final decision does not rest with us of the older generation. It is not possible in these years of rapidly changing civilization to legislate for a very distant future. Whatever laws we make now may be reversed by our grandchildren, and so the final solution of the liquor question is a matter of education.

Our most important job today is to raise healthy, clear-thinking, fair-playing, straight-shooting children, the law-makers of the future. This cannot be done by the use of fear as the basis of learning. Cokesbury College or Drew Seminary educational methods will not accomplish it. Past education against the abuse of alcohol was based entirely upon fear. Fear of hell was taught in the Sunday Schools; fear of bad skin, ulcers of the stomach, enlarged internal organs as the result of drinking, was taught in the public schools.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, no effort was

made in any kind of school to teach the young person that he was more important than rum, and that if he were strong mentally and physically, liquor would have a place rather less important in his thoughts than food; and that, as there are few people in the world who habitually overeat, there would be still fewer who habitually overdrank. The very emphasis that the cry of "Demon Rum" has placed on drinking has undoubtedly made more drunkards than has any other influence.

It is generally acknowledged that prohibition teaching in our public schools is nationally under the special care and direction of the W. C. T. U., with Mrs. Ella A. Boole, Ph.D., formerly president of the New York state organization, now and for a number of years president of the National organization, in charge, not only of the compulsory addition of prohibition teaching to the curriculum, but of the methods by which it shall be taught. I believe that Mrs. Boole is sincere, both in her belief in the necessity of temperance education, in which I agree; and in her belief in the peculiar methods of putting this teaching before the children, in which, most emphatically, I do not. I do not believe in her "scientific" method of medical education. I do not believe that it is valuable as education, nor that there is the slightest practical worth in the results obtained, as practiced on American youth in public schools at public expense.

The plan consists in having displayed to the children colored charts which show abnormally enlarged internal organs of the body, and other deleterious effects, all said to be the result of the use of beverage alcohol. Teachers, who may or may not have had medical experience, point out these charted horrors, and give the children instruc-

tion by means of medical lectures, also supplied by the W. C. T. U. Laying aside the fact that this medical prohibition-teaching is contrary to the religious beliefs of a growing number of parents, it is a conspicuous fact that fear has never been a deterrent in this country.

Americans have always been daring and imaginative. If they had not been, they would not have been Americans. Those traits which led people from the homes of their ancestors to seek freedom and economic independence in a new country are our most precious heritage, and it verges on the ridiculous to think that American children can be scared out of the willingness to "try *anything* once."

Part of the funds of the W. C. T. U. are appropriated for prizes to be given to pupils each year in the public schools of the different sections of the country for the best literary effort on this "scientific" subject as taught by these singular methods.

W. C. T. U. leaders mention with regret that they discontinued forcing the use of these methods of education when the eighteenth amendment was enacted, and they are now collecting funds to re-establish it. The campaign for this purpose is already well under way. Principals of the New York City schools recently have had their attention called to an old section of the state education law making instruction in the bad effects of alcohol and tobacco compulsory. Dr. Harold G. Campbell, acting superintendent of schools, having received many complaints that these important studies were being neglected, has issued orders that they be given more attention. It is not hard to guess the source of inspiration of these complaints. The law making these subjects

obligatory for most of the elementary grades and for the first two years of high school was passed some twenty-five years ago. Rules adopted by the Department of Education at that time regulate just what instruction is to be given the pupils in each grade. Pupils entering school at the age of six are to be warned to avoid the use of alcohol and tobacco; the next year that alcohol and tobacco prevent mental and physical growth. At nine they shall be taught that cigarettes discolor the fingers, and that alcohol is bad for the complexion. These results would, undoubtedly prove to be the ultimate horror to the boy of nine! At ten they are to be told that tobacco causes deafness, and at eleven that alcohol lessens muscular vigor—and so on until they are old enough to realize that their time has been wasted acquiring a mess of misinformation.

One of the main reasons for my indifference to the horrible-example method of education, may be purely personal. I am sure that I am occasionally used as a horrible-example myself, as one suffering from an intermittent disturbance of some of my internal apparatus. The old country doctor in New Jersey who first diagnosed my case pridefully showed me, however, a collection of specimens, somewhat resembling small cobblestones, which he had made during his years of practice. He informed me that most of these queer looking things he had obtained from the interiors of farmers living within a thirty mile radius of his office, and that the majority of these men did not drink. We know they did not drink, as farmers are the backbone of the prohibition vote. They only use seven to twenty-five per cent cider, and barrels of patent medicine.

More convincing even than this, though, is the fact that Wayne B. Wheeler died at the age of fifty-eight from trouble exactly like mine. My truthful family, if this trouble should ease me off before this book is published, will confess that I have beaten Mr. Wheeler's time by a number of years. Of course there is another phase to Mr. Wheeler's untimely ending. He often stated that he never touched liquor in his life "except to get evidence," which means that such drinking as he did was of the quality of liquor produced by the prohibition laws, and he is far from being the only person who has not been able to survive a few doses of that. It certainly works more quickly and harder than the kind made and used in this country in the legal days, which I was accustomed to sell, also to drink.

Skepticism as to the value of the work of the W. C. T. U. was doubtlessly ingrained in my early youth. My careful mother, herself a truly religious woman, forbade me to play with a small neighbor. "Poor child," she would say. "He is so ungoverned and ungovernable, I cannot have you play with him. It is not his fault, and I am sorry for him. He is left too much to himself while his mother goes to W. C. T. U. meetings."

I have only one more reference to make to my opinion of the W. C. T. U. In making it I shall have to acknowledge that I am one of the present day drinkers-of-drams who occasionally travel to a civilization where it is not criminal to enjoy eating and drinking—old style. I have made that experiment in Mexico, but find it more to my liking in the kindly environment of my own Anglo-Saxon race at Victoria and Vancouver, B. C. I take every opportunity to drive up there, as the roads are excellent and

traverse a most gorgeous variety of scenery. I think we all believe that to be a harmless form of enjoyment—to drive through beautiful country. It is hard, though, to draw the line where harmless pleasure stops and crime begins. For myself, I can testify that no guilty conscience spoils my appetite for my first mug of Bass with a Welsh rarebit luncheon in a country where such a combination is legal as well as natural—and I wonder how the menu sounds to our American criminals, more or less clandestinely mixing contraband with ginger ale?

On my return to my own country I continue to obey its laws, and I fail to shudder at my recent conduct, even when I read an interview with the president of the W. C. T. U. wherein she says that this sort of action “came as a painful surprise to me, and, I am sure to all the millions of law-abiding Americans who respect and uphold the Volstead law.” If Mrs. Boole thinks that millions of law-abiding Americans are going to attempt to uphold the Volstead law in Canada, Mexico, and other “neutral” countries, I am forced to the conclusion that the lady is lacking in common sense.

We do not want people lacking in common sense directing any department of instruction in our public schools. Therefore I am in favor of deleting W. C. T. U. methods from the curricula, and replacing them with common sense courses in SELF-RELIANCE.

The teaching of our American youth starts, first, in the home. American mothers are responsible for that. American women have most to do with the primary teaching, and we also find many competent women instructing in higher educational branches. It is to our broad-minded American women that we must look for

the proper early training of our American youth. Thank God that they are capable, when aroused by a knowledge of the mistaken methods of the past, to guide properly that teaching in the future. That our intelligent American women are now studying Prohibition Enforcement in a common sense way and free from emotionalism is evidenced by Ida Tarbell's article in the June, 1928, *Delineator*—also by Mrs. Jebins in June 13 *Outlook*.

It is my firm belief, and I know it to be the belief of many other "retired scoundrels" of the old liquor traffic, that the place where self-reliance can best be taught is on the playground of the nation, whether these are school playgrounds or larger ones open to the entire public. I know that this is so strongly the feeling of some of the members of our association that important sums of money which were made in the business have been and are to be left to establish playgrounds, where the youth of the country will be competently directed in competitive games.

Our hope for the future lies entirely in education. We know that no amount of legislation will succeed in removing from the world the desire for alcoholic stimulants, nor is there the least need that it should be removed. The necessity is to make men and women strong enough and intelligent enough to control that desire, and to make it serve a good purpose, just as it is necessary to do in the case of every natural appetite.

In a previous chapter I have told that an eminent divine has said that the sure way to make an ordinary mortal want something is to forbid him to touch it. That is a fundamental trait in human nature. "Verboten" has proved a ghastly failure in the United States. Let us

return to the proper education of mind and body to help us out of the present mad swirl of lawlessness. Until prohibition was forced upon us, such education was each year making the abuse of alcohol a lesser menace than it was the year before. Its proper use, was then, as it always has been, and always will be, a boon to mankind.

If our children are taught, by outdoor play and competitive games, to fear nothing, they will be masters of themselves. They will use their drink as they do their food, and will not be controlled by appetites of any kind. With a well developed, healthy body comes a well developed, healthy mind, and clear thinking is the natural result. They will then be better able either to enter directly into the serious business of working for their living, or to pursue higher educational courses to fit them to be leaders of thought. We would be glad to have the help of the churches in the spiritual education of the children if they could be depended upon to keep their hands off their intellectual and physical development. As some of the churches have shown their determination not to keep their hands off things outside their natural field, we may well leave spiritual growth to the children themselves, if we have done our part in giving them the essential equipment, healthy minds, and healthy bodies, both well-trained. *It is our duty to see that those in charge of both educational phases are competent and scientific, not given to using their emotions in lieu of their intellects.*

Our English colonists brought with them to this country a love of sport and competitive games, and to a large degree we inherit that love, even though the English strain has now been mixed thoroughly with blood from most of the nations of the earth. The fact that

America is still the melting pot makes it the more imperative to emphasize the value of sport in welding the various strains.

I believe that the proper teaching of the playing of games, the training for competitive contests, is of the utmost importance, and that it should be so coordinated with the development of the minds of our young people that they will come from the schools better fitted to tackle our American problems. Sports involve training that makes for quick decision and effective action, and they develop self reliance. These important features are most in evidence in the games in which intricate combinations have been worked out, and fortunately these are the sports that are most popular with the men and women now in the making. The ability to take part in team work is also a beneficent result of participation in games. In such games as football, baseball, and polo a player learns just how far he can depend on his team-mates, and this is a faculty that will be useful both to him and to his fellow citizens throughout his lifetime.

The most important consideration of all in training young America to play games, so that later they will play well the game of life, is the inculcation of the idea of "fair play" and good sportsmanship. It is only necessary to compare a football game of today with the memory of one of twenty years ago to see the great advance in these respects that has already taken place. Twenty years ago the Methodist principle, any means to beat the other team, was much more prevalent than it is today. The individual responsible for a winning score was then more often considered praise-worthy even if one intentionally put out an opponent for good, or spiked one as a means

to secure a winning score for his team or nine. Now, if in the heat of conflict some player forgets himself and makes an unfair play, he is condemned as heartily by his team-mates as by his antagonists, while the majority of present-day spectators unmistakably voice their disapproval.

More than twenty years ago, Dr. Henry van Dyke, concluding his introduction for Frank Presbrey's book *Athletics at Princeton* (a history—copyrighted 1901 by Frank Presbrey) wrote:

This preface is no place for a long preachment on the general subject of athletics, but certainly one has a right to say that games played in this spirit (the Princeton spirit of fair play) have a distinct educational value. The self-restraint which lies back of the training for such a contest; the habit of cooperation which discards "grand-stand" play and makes the good work of the whole team the first object; the temper of steady resolution and indomitable hope which enables men to endure to the end and snatch victory from defeat, these are good things to contemplate and imitate.

The aim of the American university is not merely the production of scholars, but the development of men. All of these men must pass through an intellectual discipline and come up to a standard of intelligence and work. The university is no place for men who will not or can not study. Neither is it a place for men to neglect their bodies, ruin their health, and become physical weaklings and incapables. It is a place where discipline and life must be adapted to the unfolding of a vigorous, active, well-balanced manhood. Mistakes are always possible, both on the physical and on the intellectual side; when they occur, they must be corrected with prudence, justice, and firmness. There is no department of human life, so far as my experience goes, which is exempt from errors and evils. But one thing is certain: no American university can prosper or do its work without athletics. The question is not whether we will have them, but how shall we

best conduct them. To the solution of this problem I think the Princeton spirit, with its cooperation of undergraduates, alumni, and faculty, has made a considerable contribution.

HENRY VAN DYKE, '73.

Since the above was written the college and university population of this country has grown at an unprecedented rate. If we continue to send to the centers of higher education boys and girls with strong and active bodies and minds already well fitted for clear, straight thinking, although we have now a large element so trained, we shall have in a very few years a much larger one fitly prepared to combat government by emotionalism and fanaticism.

Whether or not we can succeed ourselves in alleviating the intolerable conditions brought about by the Volstead Act, we may comfort ourselves with the surety that these conditions cannot endure forever. The youngsters now being trained in games will eventually take care of the liquor problem. They will keep alcohol in its proper place as a useful commodity. They will neither permit "rum" to be a god to be worshipped or a devil to be feared, but will make it to be the good servant of man.

APPENDIX A

Board of Trustees
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THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTE

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S. H. Church,
President

February 25, 1928

MR. GEORGE C. HOWELL

The Large Distilling Company
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Mr. Howell:

Owing to a rather extended absence from the city I did not find time until yesterday and today to read over the manuscript of your book, but I have just now completed a rather careful examination of it and am returning it to Mr. Renziehausen, as requested in your letter of February 10.

The manuscript impresses me as being a very careful, authoritative, and courageous statement of your side of this question, and when I say "your side" I really believe that in all that you say against fanaticism on the one hand, and for liberty on the other hand, you represent the large majority of the people of the United States. For my part I am not opposed to prohibition because of any desire to drink liquor; but I am opposed to it because it violates the fundamental principles of liberty, and it

is only by full and frank discussion of the problem that public opinion can be informed and clarified so that a logical solution can be reached.

I am very glad to have met you personally and I believe that your book will be a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH

President

P. S.—I have neglected your request contained in your letter of February 9 for permission to publish my address which was delivered before the California Institute of Technology. I have now located the notes of that address and enclose a copy of them with my permission to publish any part of them in your book. I am also sending you copies of the January and February *Bulletin* of the Carnegie Institute, in which I have discussed the tyranny of laws that have been dictated by the Lord's Day Alliance, and you can use any of this material in your book that may be suitable to its purpose.

S. H. C.

APPENDIX B

THIS manuscript is overburdened with quotations because of the necessity of substantiating historical statements, and more especially to prove by their own testimony that many "good men and true," leaders of thought in this country, believe that Prohibition is false in theory. I have also quoted the testimony of some of the great number of acknowledged leaders in every practical line of human endeavor who are satisfied, after a fair trial, as a common sense method of securing temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages in this country, Prohibition has proven a colossal failure.

It has been a matter of considerable difficulty to sift the most important testimony from the great mass of writing which has accumulated during the past years on each of the two main subjects which are corollary but must be treated separately in the discussion of, what is considered here, the most important one: that of Prohibition:

Much of my collected data was not used at all in this book because no one recognizes better the fact that the American people have grown tired of the discussion of Prohibition. There are some quotations, however, which are of such importance that they should be elaborated upon more fully, to understand better the subjects discussed, than the short references I have made. This is especially true of the only controversy ever published

between a historian of undoubted respectability and the leaders of educated Methodism of that same historic period. That historian complained of the unfair tactics and vindictive language used against him by the educated leaders of Methodism of that time. Although the men on both sides of that controversy were considered to be not only honorable gentlemen, but in addition, on one side at least, holy men; as honorable men they entered into a gentleman's agreement. How it was kept by the Methodist leaders is a matter of record which is of importance. And for that reason alone, I have had these photostat copies incorporated.

Mr. H. B. Dawson's qualification as an American historian cannot be questioned. It was immediately after our War of the Rebellion and at the beginning of the period of reconstruction when all the disputed questions underlying that fratricidal conflict were fresh in the minds and memories of American then living that Mr. Dawson made the charges in the columns of *The Historical Magazine*, which I have had photostated. These I present to my readers, with the defence, made in the vituperative style affected by the most eminent Methodist leaders of that period, to Mr. Dawson's charges against Methodism as militantly displayed both in the times of the Revolution and in those of the Civil War. It was the latter which evoked Mr. Dawson's charges, more especially the demonstrations displayed in the period of reconstruction in 1866 and following years which were referred to by President Grant.

Mr. Dawson charged that here in America—"The Society called Methodists" never had any standing as a distinctive religious organization, that the educated

leaders of that Society were Episcopalians, that is to say, were of the Church of England but separated from that church for their own aggrandizement, that they had no sympathy whatever with our patriotic American forebears who fought in the War of the Revolution for that liberty which we now enjoy. They not only did not sympathize with but were openly opposed to the patriotic American cause—this last charge applied to all American preaching leaders of Methodism of that period with one exception—Francis Asbury—whom all the Methodist leaders aspiring to be our political leaders in our America today, extol as the one and only example of patriotic Methodism—that Francis Asbury was the very best example of political Methodistic leadership we will acknowledge, but we who read the true history of Methodist leadership of that period can not agree with their claims as to Asbury's American patriotism. He displayed none himself. These Methodists, would-be political leaders of today, claim that because Asbury remained in America while all his fellow preachers fled, he was patriotic. They point out no patriotic deed of his—there was none to record during that entire period. They claim he was the first American bishop; after the ending of the war, Wesley "ordained" Coke, who "ordained" Asbury. As Methodist "political" bishop Asbury, however, was first, though he has had several successors.

Mr. Dawson points out the hypocrisy in evidence in early Methodist political manipulation of every "issue" they had taken up and made their own religious issue—not alone that of prohibition but also those of temperance and of slavery (see foot-note, page 362 of Dec., 1866, *The Historical Magazine*, page B Addenda). He refers

to the book *Lost Chapters Recovered* from the "History of American Methodism" written by Reverend J. B. Wakeley and published about ten years before Mr. Dawson's charges were made.

The Rev. Wakely's title page reads in part as follows :

LOST CHAPTERS
RECOVERED FROM
THE EARLY HISTORY
OF
AMERICAN METHODISM
BY REV. J. B. WAKELY

"For, inquire, I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: shall they not teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words of their heart? (Holy Writ)." This is an apt quotation for today, and we will try to follow its precept.

What the historian Dawson stated in his foot-note in regard to the Rev. J. B. Wakely's honest acknowledgment of the Episcopalianism of Methodism (to the effect that "the founder of Methodism, Mr. Wesley, was known to be a great loyalist and strongly opposed to the course pursued by the Americans" as was proven by his "calm address") holds good also in what the Rev. J. B. Wakely writes in regard to other points of Methodism which are of present day interest.

One would naturally be led to believe from this title that Mr. Wakely had discovered old manuscripts, journals, letters, or other written documents bearing on Methodist historical happenings of that period just before, during, or after our Revolutionary War, which was the period of early Methodism in America. Such was not

the case, however. What really was found was the "old book" in which the treasurer of the John Street Methodist Church, New York City, kept his account with meticulous care of each separate receipt and disbursement of cash from the time of the first building of that cradle of Methodism in America up to a time after this country became a free nation, and so included the entire period of our Revolutionary War. All cash accounts of whatever nature appear in this "old book"; what a preacher received for salary to buy a pair of shoes, or to pay his board, is all entered here, and Mr. Wakely, with more or less amplification of these different interesting cash transactions made new Methodist history. How much of it was suppressed by Mr. Wakely's superiors is a subject of interest.

He begins his book with the statement that he is not allowed to publish this "old book" in its entirety, which held good of the publication of "the heart of Francis Asbury's journals," about the same period. Is it possible that the Methodist leaders of that period were faced with a situation somewhat similar to that in which the present day leaders of Christian Science find themselves? Suppression of truthful history does more harm than good, especially in the case of an organization of a religious character, whose leaders suppress truthful historical facts which conceivably may injure the present and future saintly standing of their early leaders.

It will be remembered that Francis Asbury made temperance a Methodist issue from the beginning of his preaching in America. It was not long, however, before he found that temperance was not solely a Methodist proposition, so prohibition displaced temperance. But it

was then the prohibition of the distillation of grain into alcoholic spirits and the drinking of distilled spirits, not prohibition of the making and drinking of fermented alcoholic beverages, for he himself drank ale, which has the highest alcoholic content of all fermented malts. It is interesting to note that Asbury at the Baltimore conference in 1780 forbade Methodists to distill grain into alcohol or to drink it. He dominated the conference which passed the minute forbidding such distillation. In view of this knowledge, it is also interesting to note the manner in which Methodists obeyed at that time. In the "Lost Chapters," page 306, Mr. Wakely states: "There is a singular entry for June 13, 1785, (in the 'old book') showing the customs of the times: 'To cash, paid for drink for laborers in the yard £0.4.6.'" Another entry later on, which is illuminating (Mr. Wakely terms it "startling"), was one made several years after this last one, "Cash paid for a ticket in the lottery, £2.0.0." Most of us would be interested to know whether the cradle of Methodism cashed in on its lottery ticket.

The most interesting chapter in *Lost Chapters* is that in which Mr. Wakely gives the history of that occurrence which has been so often quoted by later Methodist historians as absolute proof of the loyalty of Bishop Francis Asbury, of Bishop Coke, and of all Methodism from its American beginning; according to Mr. Wakely, at the New York Conference of 1789 "the farseeing Asbury offered the preachers the following question for their consideration: "Whether it would not be proper for us, as a church, to present a congratulatory address to General Washington, who had been lately inaugurated President of these United States, in which should be embodied

our approbation of the Constitution, and professing our allegiance to the Government. . . . Conference highly approved and warmly recommended" (page 336). The two bishops, Asbury and Coke, were appointed by the Conference to draw up the address, which "Bishop" Asbury presented to President Washington as the "Address of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

The American people of today do not know of the storm of indignation which arose and spread through every class of the early citizens of Free America, at what would be termed today "the nerve" of this hypocritical address (patriotic Americans then knew how little Bishop Asbury had done to secure our liberty).. As for Bishop Coke, who was of much better education than Asbury and wrote the address, there was a similar outburst in England against him from the Tories, who still hated the Americans, and he had considerable explaining to do as an Englishman in regard to Bishop Asbury's "far seeing political acumen." But today this storm has been forgotten, and our Methodist historians do not mention it. They only mention the address as "incontrovertible proof."

THE

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[No. 12.]

I.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Among the most interesting subjects connected with the history of Methodism, is that relating to the part which was taken by the early Methodists in the Revolution in America.

In view of the fact that every Methodist of that period, whether in Europe or America, was necessarily an *Episcopalian*, one of whose leading tenets was that George III., King of Great Britain, was his supreme ecclesiastical head on earth, it need not be wondered at if the members of the Methodist Societies in America were less zealous Republicans than were those who recognized no such Ecclesiastical Headship; and if some of them refused to concur with the leaders of the revolted colonists, in their declarations of the rights of the governed and the subordinate character of the Government a reason for that non-concurrence may be found also in the system of government by which both these societies, as such, and their several members, as individuals, were controlled—a system which was as opposite from that inculcated in the Declaration of Independence as the North is from the South Pole.

As is well known, the recognized head of the Methodist Societies, both those in Europe and those in America, was JOHN WESLEY. The very first entry in the Minutes of the first American Conference declared, as the expressed will of the leaders of the American Methodists, that "the authority of Mr. Wesley

"and that [*European*] Conference ought "to extend to the preachers and people "in America, as well as in Great-Britain "and Ireland," (*Minutes, June, 1773, Query 1*;) and although the Peace of 1783 had rendered the further connection of the Societies in America with the King of Great Britain both impolitic and illegal, it was not until Mr. Wesley had formally absolved them from their duty to the legal Head of their Church, nearly two years after the establishment of that Peace, that they presumed to "form themselves into an Independent "Church." (*Compare Mr. Wesley's letter "to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our "Brethren in North America," dated "Bristol, September 10th, 1784," with the Minute of the American Conference, at Baltimore, January, 1785, organizing "The Methodist Episcopal Church."*)

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Wesley's opinions concerning the struggle in America have been handled with great tenderness by the greater number of the historians of American Methodism;¹ but we are equally sensible of the fact that if these historians had regarded the truth of their respective narratives as highly as they appear to have regarded the more modern notions of honor and duty, they would have told very different stories concerning Mr. Wesley, and published vastly more complete narratives concerning the actions and opinions of the early Methodist Societies in America.

Mr. Wesley made no attempt to con-

¹ See, e. g., *History of Methodism*, ii. 129, 130, &c.

ceal his repugnance to the earlier disloyal sentiments of the Colonists in America; and when he was attacked by some of his countrymen who differed from him, his fellow-Methodists hastened to his relief, without the least hesitation.

Thus, as early as 1775, Mr. Wesley issued, as original, and over his own name, his well-known and widely circulated *Calm Address to our American Colonists*, which was nothing less than a re-hash of Doctor Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*, without the least recognition on his part, of the obnoxious Tory tract from which he had parloined the ultra-monarchical and peculiarly offensive argument of that *Address*; and when its terms were controverted by Caleb Evans and other republican Dissenters, John William Fletcher, the Episcopalian Vicar, of Madeley, and other friends of the Established Church and of the Government hastened to his relief.

What were Mr. Wesley's sentiments on American affairs may be exactly ascertained from this Tract; and the following extracts will throw light on the subject:

"These good men [*the republicans in England*] hope it will end, in the total defection of North America from England. * * *

"But, my brethren, would this be any advantage to you? Can you hope for a more desirable form of government, either in England or America, than that which you now enjoy? After all the vehement cry for liberty, what more liberty can you have? What more religious liberty can you desire, than that which you enjoy already? May not every one among you worship God according to his own conscience? What civil liberty can you desire, which you are not already possessed of? Do not you sit without restraint, every man under his own vine? Do you not, every one, high or low, enjoy the

fruit of your labour? This is real, rational liberty, such as is enjoyed by Englishmen alone; and lost by any other people in the habitable world.

"Would the being independent of England make you more free? Far, very far, from it. It would hardly be possible for you to steer clear, between anarchy and tyranny. But suppose, after numberless dangers and mischiefs, you should settle into one or more Republics; would a republican government give you more liberty, either religious or civil? By no means. No governments under heaven are so despotic as the Republics; no subjects are governed in so arbitrary a manner, as those of a Commonwealth. If any one doubt of this, let him look at the subjects of Venice, of Genoa, or even of Holland." pp. 14-16.

"That they contend for the cause of liberty is another mistaken supposition. What liberty do you want, either civil or religious? You had the very same liberty we have in England. I say, you had; but you have thrown away the substance, and retain only the shadow. You have no liberty, civil or religious, now, but what the Congress pleases to allow." (pp. 19, 20.)

"Ten times over, in different words, you 'profess yourselves to be contending for liberty.' But it is a vain, empty profession; unless you mean by that threadbare word, a liberty from obeying your rightful sovereign, and from keeping the fundamental laws of your country. And this undoubtedly it is, which the confederated Colonies are now contending for." (p. 23.)

* It is gratifying to find one Methodist who is not ashamed to leave the truth and recognize his own duty, by acknowledging that Mr. Wesley and the early Methodists, both in Britain and America, were Episcopalian and Tories. That person is Rev. J. M. Wainwright, who, fully and truly says in his *Last Chapters recovered from the History of American Methodism*: "The Methodists were considered not as Dissenters, but part and parcel of the Church of England, using the Prayer Book and communicating at St. Paul's Episcopal Church." * * * "The founder of the Methodists, Mr. Wesley, was known to be a strict Royalist, and strongly opposed the course pursued by the Americans, having written

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Again: In the summer of 1780, when a report was published in one of the New York newspapers affecting "Mr. Wesley's want of faithful attachment to the King and Constitution," "his Assistant preacher in that city" promptly produced a ready-made voucher for the loyalty of his chief, and stifled the rumor as soon as it was born—a movement which was subsequently confirmed by a second letter from Mr. Wesley and another, supporting it, from Richard Boardman, who was personally known to nearly all the Methodists in New York. The following is a copy of the record of this affair, from the originals in the Library of the New York Historical Society:

[THE REPORT CONCERNING MR. WESLEY.

From *The Royal Gazette*, 408, New York, Saturday, August 20, 1780.]

"LONDON, June 7. The mob have continued all last night with a degree of violence unknown for this century past. Many houses are pulled down, and the fine new building of Newgate they have reduced to ashes. The Dissenters, and Wesley, at the head of the Methodists, are, as I observed before, blowing up the flame."

H.

[THE DEFENSE OF MR. WESLEY, BY HIS ASSISTANT IN NEW YORK.

From *The Royal Gazette*, 409, New York, Wednesday, August 30, 1780.]

"A number of gentlemen in this city, feeling themselves hurt at a paragraph in our last paper, copied from a letter from London, of the 17th July, the following is inserted to efface all suspicion of the Reverend Mr. Wesley's want of faithful attachment to the King and Constitution."

"A Calm Address to the American Colonies. This was the occasion with Mr. Wesley."

This example is a monument to Mr. Wesley's fidelity as a historical writer, which is as uncommon as it is honorable.

"MR. RIVINGTON.

"SIR,

"HAVING read a paragraph in your Saturday's paper, in which the Reverend Mr. Wesley is charged with secretly blowing up the flame which has lately been kindled in London, we have sent you a copy of a letter from him to his Assistant Preacher in this city, your giving it a place in your Wednesday's paper, will greatly oblige the Society of people commonly called Methodists in New York."

"MY DEAR BROTHER

"A REPORT was spread some time since in England, that the British troops were to be recalled from New-York, but I am inclined to think it was raised and propagated by designing men, who intended thereby to weaken the hands of them that feared God and honoured the King, as by weak men, who believed what they wished; but it now clearly appears to have been without any foundation; on the other hand, government are determined to act more vigorously than ever."

"It is a wonderful instance of the goodness of God, that we have any societies left in America. I do not advise you to leave it till you have a clear providential call. Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might."

"I am,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"J. WESLEY."

"N. B. Any Person may see the Original, by applying next door to the METHODIST PREACHING HOUSE, in John Street."

III.

[THE FINAL DEFENCE OF MR. WESLEY, BY HIMSELF AND MR. BOARDMAN.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 460, New-York, Saturday, February 24, 1781.]

"Mr. RIVINGTON

"SIR,

"WE send you a copy of a few lines from the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, in answer to a letter published the latter end of August last, accusing him with being an abettor of the rioters in London; together with a copy of a letter from Mr. Richard Boardman, to his correspondent in this city. Your inserting the whole in your next Gazette, will greatly oblige the Society of people called Methodists in New-York."

IV.

[MR. WESLEY TO MR. RIVINGTON.]

"London, October 25, 1780.

"Mr. Rivington,

"I HAVE advice from New-York, that a letter from London has been published there which, after mentioning the riots occasioned by Lord George Gordon, asserts "It is the Dissenters and Methodists who are secretly blowing up the flame." Let the Dissenters answer for themselves, but I will answer for the Methodists.—All of them who are connected with me, fear God and honour the King, and not one of them was any otherwise concerned in the late tumults than in doing all they possibly could to suppress them.

"The letter writer asserts farther, "the Dissenters and Wesley at the head of the Methodists are blowing up the flame." This poor wretch has

"The old book of accounts of "the Society of people called Methodists in New-York," shows that on the first of March, 1781, there was "Paid Mr. Rivington for advertising Mr. Wesley's letter, &c. £1 10s 0d," and Mr. Wakeley was understood just "what this [entry] means."—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

"shook hands both with truth and shame; not one Methodist had anything to do with the riot, and as for me, I was then near three hundred miles off, namely at Newcastle upon Tyne.

"I am, Sir

"Your humble Servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

V.

[MR. BOARDMAN TO HIS FRIEND IN NEW-YORK.]

"London, October 27, 1780.

"My good Friend,

"WHAT will not prejudice do, or say? No man in England has more steadily and zealously vindicated government, by writings, conversation and preaching, than Mr. Wesley has done; in the no small mortification of the disaffected of all parties; this is well known through these Kingdoms, so that whether the piece published in the New-York Gazette, was fabricated on this, or your side of the water, matters not; it is false and scandalous.

"Wishing you peace and truth, I am,

"Yours affectionately,

"RICHARD BOARDMAN."

Finally, in the fall of 1784, when the revolted Colonies had succeeded in the establishment of their Independence, Mr. Wesley coldly absolved the members of his Societies in America from their obligations to the Established Church of England, and authorized them to organize an "Independent Church," without a single supplication of Divine favor, in their behalf—he had not even a naked

"Mr. Boardman had been the "Preacher" in John-street, for several years, but was then in England.

He came to America, in company with Mr. Pymmer, in 1769; preached a short time in Philadelphia, and then resided to New-York. He remained there until 1773, except during occasional tours of duty in New-England, &c.; and in the early days of the Revolution, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Pymmer. (*Wesley's Last Campaign*, pp. 296.)

The latter never left the Episcopalian; hence, when he returned to New-York, after the war had closed, he was offered as a candidate for the Assistant ministry of Trinity Church, and subsequently became the first Rector of Christ Church, in that city.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

wish for their success nor a kind word of brotherly regard, at the parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas in America and so distasteful the position of affairs in that country, to him and to his friends.

But the evidence of the political sentiments of the early Methodists, in England, is not more conclusive of their *Toriesism* than is that of the evidence that their brethren in America had little sympathy for the popular cause, in their own country.

A few days after the commencement of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, their Conference declared for "Peace," notwithstanding their countrymen, everywhere, were hurrying to the field; and on the eighteenth of July,—a month after the action on Bunker's Hill—a General Fast was observed "for the 'Peace of America.'" (*Minutes of Conference, 1775.*) *They were the "Peace-men" of their generation.*

Again: Their meeting-house in John-street, New York, was respected by the British army and their preacher was permitted to continue at his post, as no other meeting-house was respected and no other preacher undisturbed, during the occupation of the city by the Royal forces, except those whose fidelity to the Royal cause was unquestionable and unquestioned. (*WAKLEY'S Lost Chapters, 261-263, 267-278; WATSON'S Annals, 326.*)

The *loyal* Reformed Dutch, under the pastoral care of Domine Lydecker, occupied the old church-edifice in Garden-street*—in which, also, was accommodated, after the fire of 1776, the *loyal* congregation of Trinity-Church—but the *patriotic* Reformed Dutch, including the Domines Laidie, Livingston, and De Ronde, were scattered throughout the country and their meeting-houses used

for riding-schools and other secular uses*.

The Wall-street Presbyterian and the Lutheran church edifices were respected, it is said, although many of their congregations were in exile, because the *loyal* Scotch and Germans in the Royal armies, needed their accommodations; but the well-trying republican Baptists were in exile, their Pastor was with General Washington, and their church-edifice was desecrated and nearly destroyed.† The Methodist preaching-house in "John-street" was respected, because "the Society of people commonly called 'Methodists in New York' studiously maintained its connection with the Home Government and carefully refused, as we have seen, even the faintest rumor against the loyalty of its Chief, whose honor, in this respect, seemed to be not less precious in the eyes of the American Methodists, than was their own.‡

Finally, at the close of the war, when the Tories sought safety in exile—preferring, like the Puritan and Pilgrim fathers of New England, to *rule* in a wilderness rather than *be ruled* within a settled community,—"to reign in Hell" rather than *serve* in Heaven"—Rev. John Man and probably Rev. Samuel Sprages, of the John-street "preaching-house," and a large number of the members of that Society, removed to Nova Scotia, where, subsequently, Rev. Freeborn Garrettson—son-in-law of Chancellor Livingston and a New-York Methodist refugee—became the Presiding Elder. (*SIMON'S History of the Loyalists, i, 463, 464; ii, 45; WAKLEY'S Lost Chapters, 262-266; 293, 296, 297.*)

Nor were the Methodists in New York more zealous in the cause of the King than were those who were never sheltered by a Royal army and who

* Dr. DE WITT'S *Discourses*, 40.

† PARSONS'S *Public Sermon*, 25, 26.

‡ BERMAN'S *History of Trinity Church*, 171, 172; Dr. DE WITT'S *Discourses in the North Dutch Church*, 1850, 40.

‡ Correspondence concerning Mr. Wesley, ante, pp. 302, 304; WAKLEY'S *Lost Chapters*, 260, 278, 292.

never basked in the favor of a Royal Government.

The Methodists of Baltimore, also, "almost to a man," were "enemies to our cause under the mask of religion;" and the following letter, from one of the leaders of "The Sons of Liberty," in that town, will further illustrate the subject:

SAM'L PURVIANCE JUN^r TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.
From the Schuyler Manuscripts, in the possession of the family.

Baltimore, 4th May 1777.
"Dear Sir:— I have seen a person in this place within a few days past, whom Mr. Hillegas & I from several circumstances suspect to be a spy; and could not but conceive it my duty to acquaint you as a member of Congress, of our apprehensions, that he may be at least prevented from going to New York, which I understand is his intention. The person I mean is Capt. Webb the Methodist preacher, & as I am informed a half pay officer in the British service. He came to this place last Tuesday or Wednesday, & in his sermon to his followers hinted as much as that it was the last time they should see him. I have since heard that he intends going to New York to embark for England. The vborometer under which he travels affords him the very best opportunities of making observations, which it can't be doubted he will communicate if permitted to go to New York. It is a certain truth that all the Denomination called Methodists almost to a man (with us) are enemies to our cause under the mask of religion, and are countenanced by the Tories. One of their preachers did lately in this place tell his hearers that every man killed in battle would certainly go to hell. Can the worst avowed Tories propagate a more dangerous doctrine to weak minds.

"Mr. Webb was attended here by a young man named Carey who appears

"to be a great devotee, and of whom Mr. Hillegas & I have lately observed some things that give great room to suspect he is a travelling emissary of the enemy's, & increases our suspicions against Mr. Webb. This Carey about 22 or three weeks ago was taken up on Elk Ridge as a suspected person, & he got clear by saying that he was in the employment of Mr. Hillegas the Continental Treasurer. This person is constantly travelling to and fro betwixt this, Philad^a, & the Jersey under the character of a horse jockey, an excellent Clock for an emissary. The evening before Mr. Webb left town, Mr. Hillegas & I observed this Carey with a person who appeared as a rider go into the house of a lady near Mr. Graves, & after staying there some time the rider was despatched in a great hurry. I immediately after got three young gentlemen to pursue him on horseback, but finding being late in the evening they did not get him. Upon enquiry at Mr. Grant I find that Carey keeps a spare horse constantly at his stable & that he seems to have plenty of money, altho' he has no visible means that he knows of to get money but what I have mentioned & appears as a gentleman. Carey has been out of town since Thursday, altho' he told Mr. Grant that was only going a little way out of town. I therefore suspect he is gone to Philad^a. If Mr. Carey who lodges at my house & who is now at Philad^a, should not be left it before you receive this, you may possibly find him at my brother's house in Philad^a, & I suspect that he knows Carey & can give you a description of him. You may depend on it that Mr. Hillegas & I shall take all the pains in our power to investigate this matter. For that some inimical plan is carrying on I am well convinced. I am

"with much respect Sir,

"Your most ob^d Serv^t.

"SAM'L PURVIANCE JUN^r."

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The suspicions of Mr. Purviance appear to have been correct. Carey had gone to Philadelphia; and at that place, he was arrested on the ninth of May, and cast into prison. While thus confined, he memorialized General Schuyler for relief, in the course of which he admits his intimacy with Captain Webb and that the latter was preparing to return to the city of New York, as had been stated by Mr. Purviance; and he admitted, also, that he was assisting the Captain in making the necessary preparations for his removal. It is true that he claimed to be in the employ of Colonel Cox, who was the Vice-president of New-Jersey and of unquestionable fidelity to the Country; but Mr. Purviance has told us that he had before-pretended, untruly, to be in the employ of Mr. Hillegas, the Continental Treasurer, and there is no evidence that his last-told story was any more entitled to respect than the first; while his facilities for obtaining, for Captain Webb, certain drafts on Mr. Chandler, the Royal Paymaster-general at New York, clearly indicated that his associations were rather with those who corresponded with the enemy than with those who resisted him. The following is the memorial referred to:

[From the Schuyler Manuscript.]

To His Excellency GEN. L. SCHUYLER.

"The memorial of John Carey Humbly sheweth That your memorialist some time ago engaged to work an Iron Forge belonging to Col. Cox in New Jersey, and as workmen were scarce in Jersey & to be had on easy terms in Maryland, Col. Cox thought proper to send your memorialist to the State of Maryland in order to procure a set of men skilled in sd. business. That your memorialist soon after meeting with Mr. Thomas Webb who had just disposed of his effects & was preparing to depart for New York, who having a sum of paper money which he could not get ex-

changed either for hard money or Bills in the State of New Jersey, prevailed on your memorialist to take charge of & endeavour to change in Maryland. That your memorialist was overtaken by Mr. Webb in Philadelphia, that they proceeded together to Maryland, where they got part of sd. money exchanged & procured an order from Mr. McCall on Mr. Sharnier of New York for the remainder. That your memorialist after making the necessary enquiries touching the workmen, returned in company with Mr. Webb, to the State of New Jersey; and on reporting to Col. Cox that workmen were not to be hired but that there were several to be purchased, Col. Cox immediately put a sum of money in the hands of your memorialist & he again set out for Maryland; but on being informed on his coming to Philadelphia, that some person had wrote up to your Excellency representing your memorialist as an enemy to the States, your memorialist thought it most advisable to wait on your Excellency to know with what he was charged, on which your memorialist was immediately committed to close confinement where he has remained since the 9th Inst. Your memorialist conscious of his Innocence & sensible that Col. Cox's business must be greatly injured by his being detained in prison, humbly begs that your Excellency would be so kind as to give him a hearing, & if innocent, discharge him. That your memorialist is willing, if it shall be thought necessary, to take the oath to the State, & do every other thing in his power to evince his innocence of the crime with which he is charged, & to convince your Excellency that he is not an enemy to the States. And your memorialist will as in duty bound ever pray.

JN. CAREY.

Phil^a. State Prison,

"May 10th, 1777."

We are not among those who suppose that a "Loyalist" of the Revolutionary period was necessarily a bad man, any more than a "Patriot" of the same period was necessarily a good one; but we contend that it is the duty of those who assume to write History, so called, to respect the Truth and to follow her, whithersoever she may lead them; and we know no reason for releasing the Historians of American Methodism, or those who talk on the subject, from the obligations to write or speak *truly*, which undoubtedly rest on those who write or speak concerning the History of any other "People."

We hope they will hereafter tell the Truth or remain silent.

Morrisania, N. Y., 1866. H. B. D.

II.—DISCOVERY OF THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

[These translations, from Spanish works in print, are rendered from some of the earliest and best authorities on American island history. They afforded data for the paper read before the New York Historical Society, in June, touching the voyage of discovery made in 1525, to our coasts, by Estevan Gomez.]

The Spanish marine league measures sixteen and a half to the degree.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

I.

HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS INDIAS Y NUEVO MUNDO.

BY FRANCISCO XELIZ DE PEREZ. BOMBAY 1855.

Situation of the Indians.

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The most Northern of the Indias is parallel with Guantánamo and Islandia. The coast runs two hundred leagues, not yet well examined, to the River Nevada, in 60°; thence to the Bay of Malvas, are other two hundred leagues, the whole of this coast being nearly on the same parallel, 60°, and is what is called Tierra del Labrador, having on the South, the Island of Los Demonios. From Malvas to Cape

Marzo, which is in 56°, there are sixty leagues; thence to Cape Delgado, in 54°, are fifty leagues; the coast afterward running for two hundred leagues, directly West, to a great river named San Lorenzo, which some consider to be an arm of the sea, (it has been navigated two hundred leagues up) on which account many call it the Straits of Los tres Hermanos, (*The three Brothers*). Here a kind of square gulf is formed, which opens, "boja," from San Lorenzo, as far as the Point of Bacallao, a distance somewhat more than two hundred leagues. Between this Cape and Cape Delgado, (*Shoals*), are many well inhabited islands, called Cortes Reales, which enclose and cover the Golfo Quadrado, (*Square Gulf*), a place very notable on this coast as a mark and for rest.

From the Point of Bacallao are set down eight hundred and seventy leagues to Florida, counting as follows:

From the Point of Bacallao, which is in 18° 30', are seventy leagues of coast, to La Baya del Rio, (*Bay of the River*), which is in rather more than 45°.

Thence are seventy leagues, to another Bay, called that of the Islands, (*Islands*), which is in less than 11°.

From Baya Islands to Rio Fandú are seventy leagues; and thence to another, Rio de las Gamas, are other seventy, both rivers being in 43°.

From Rio de las Gamas are fifty leagues, to Cabo de Santa Maria; whence are forty leagues nearly to Cabo Bajo; and thence to Rio de San Anton they reckon more than a hundred leagues.

From the Rio de San Anton are eighty leagues along the shores of a gulf, to Cabo de Arenas, (*Sands*), which is in nearly 39°; and thence to Puerto del Principe are more than a hundred leagues; and from that to the Rio Jordan, seventy; and thence to Cabo de Santa Elena, which is in 32°, there are forty leagues.

From Santa Elena to Rio Seco, which is in 31°, are other forty, and thence to La Cruz are twenty leagues, and thence

The fact is patent, however, that our History like our Constitution, seems to have become a football, to be kicked on one side or the other, as the ability of the performers or their fancy seems to dictate. Even a grave Doctor in Divinity, an associate in the most venerable Historical Society in America, seems inclined to disregard the teachings of the Record of our Country, and as boldly to substitute his own inventions; and we not unfrequently see the same contempt thrown on the unimpeachable memorials of the Past, in order to flatter the vanity of a family or the false pride of prominent members of a State.

We cannot too strongly condemn this wholesale disregard of the Truth of History; and whether the transgressors shall be our Seniors or our Juniors, we shall fearlessly expose those who are guilty of this sacrilege, to the condemnation and the contempt of the world.

VII.—ERRATUM.

WHAT ARE THE METHODISTS CELEBRATING?

The following, belonging to the Astor, in this number, entitled "What are the Methodists Celebrating?" was overlooked, until the article had been printed. The reader will please place it immediately after "Rule 3," adopted by the General Conference of 1778, where it properly belongs.—E. H. H. (H. M. A.)

The "Rules" thus "agreed to by all the Preachers present," in the General Conference, in 1778, were unquestionably respected by the Methodists throughout the several Colonies;—even the War which, soon after, broke down all the sympathies of the great body of the inhabitants for everything that was English, could not eradicate the fidelity of the Methodists to the Established Church of England, as required by the "Rules" which we have quoted. To prove this, we cite the following facts:

In the General Conference, held in Kent County, Delaware, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1778, the tenth question asked, and the answer thereto of the Conference, were as follows:

"*Ques. 10.* Shall we grant against a separation from the Church, directly or indirectly?"

"*Ans.* By all means."

Again: In the General Conference, held at Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1780, the subject was renewed,

and similarly determined. The following is the official record of that action:

"*Ques. 12.* Shall we continue in close communion with the Church, and press our people to a closer communion with her?"

"*Ans.* Yes."

"*Ques. 13.* Will this Conference grant the privilege to all the friendly Clergy of the Church of England, at the request or desire of the people, to preach or administer the ordinances in our Preaching-houses or Chapels?"

"*Ans.* Yes."

What was meant by "the Church," among those who, like this Conference, favored "the Establishment," at the dates referred to, needs little illustration—it referred to "the Church" of England, as established by Law, in Virginia, etc.

Again: The General Conference, held at Ellis's Preaching-house, Sussex County, Virginia, on the seventeenth of April, 1782, made the following minute on its records:

"The Conference acknowledge their obligations to the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, for his kind and friendly services to the Preachers and People, from our first entrance into Virginia, and more particularly for attending our Conference in Sussex, in public and private; and advise the Preachers in the South to consult him and take his advice in the absence of Brother Ashury."

When the facts shall be remembered that Mr. Jarratt was a minister of the Established Church of England, whose Intolerance is so well known, and that "Brother Ashury"—whose equal in authority, under some circumstances, Mr. Jarratt was thus formally voted—was immediately afterward chosen by the same body to "preside over the American Conferences and the whole work," the relation of the Methodists of that day to the Established Church of England will be very apparent.

H. B. D.

there is nothing like that observable on rocks; on the contrary, the figures generally present a jumble of groups and single marks that appear to have little connexion with each other, as if the work of individuals on different times and occasions. There is, in truth, no more resemblance between North American rock-writing and inscriptions of Assyria and the East than between a child's unintelligible scrawls on paper and a printed page. To my mind, nothing is more palpable than that phœnetic characters were as worthless to the authors of rock inscriptions as are their signs to us, and that they were incapable of the blunder of presenting to the eye symbols addressed to the ear. The latter would have been as inexplicable to them as are cabalistic figures or physicians' prescriptions to our children.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—WHAT ARE THE METHODISTS CELEBRATING?

The vast body of Methodists throughout the United States are joyfully celebrating a Centenary, but a Centenary of what, seems to be, by some at least, misunderstood. It is our purpose, respectfully to show just what the members of this wide-spread and honored denomination are doing and just what they are not doing.

They are celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of the introduction of *Methodism in America*, not that of the establishment of a *Methodist Church*, as such, in this country; and it will be well for those who shall talk on this subject, to bear this fact in mind.

The truth is, the American Methodists of 1766-85 were avowed *Episcopalians*; their preachers were only "preachers," not Pastors—not one of whom was allowed

either to administer the Lord's Supper or to baptize a convert; and every movement was subordinate to, and for the especial benefit of, the parish Episcopalian Church.

We have before us a copy of the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Preachers in connection with Rev. John Wesley, Philadelphia, June, 1773*—the first "General Conference" in America—during which "the following Rules were agreed to" by all the Preachers present:

"1. Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly to AVOID ADMINISTERING THE ORDINANCES OF BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"2. All the people among the labour to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church, and to receive the ordinances there; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia, to the observance of this minute.

"3. No person or persons to be admitted to our love feast, oftener than twice or thrice, unless they become members; and none to be admitted to the Society meeting more than thrice."

It will be seen from this authoritative testimony that the Methodists of 1766-85 were only a "Society" within "the Church": Mr. Wesley's letter "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America", dated "Bristol, September 10th, 1784", shows that, at that date, even, *none of his preachers had been ordained*—Francis Asbury was not even a Deacon, before 1785, as will be seen in Section IV. of the *Form of Discipline*, Edit. N. Y. 1789.

No one will pretend that an unofficial member of any "Society" can administer a Sacrament: Mr. Wesley's own *Sunday service of the Methodists*—the "Methodist Prayer Book"—in the Ordination service of Deacons, thus tells us what a Deacon might do: "It pertaineth to the

"office of a Deacon, to assist the Elder in Divine Service, and especially when he ministereth the Holy Communion, to help him in the distinction thereof, and to read and expound the Holy Scriptures; to instruct the youth, and in the absence of the Elder, to Baptize. And furthermore, it is his office to search for sick, poor, and impotent, that they may be visited and relieved." (Edie London, 1788, pp. 287, 288.)

It will be seen that even Francis Ashbury, prior to 1785, was disqualified for the administration of an ordinance; but it was equally certain that, prior to that date, there was not a Methodist Church in the country, to which such Ordinances were necessary; neither was there a Methodist Pastor. All this is evident from the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a General Conference held at Baltimore, January, 1785*, and the first perfected *Form of Discipline*, Section IV.; and it seems proper to remind some of our friends that, prior to 1785, Methodists were necessarily *Episcopals* of the British Established Church; that those who taught them were simply "Preachers"; that their church edifices were simply "Preaching-houses"; that even Francis Ashbury was, subsequently, made successively a Deacon, Elder, and Bishop; and that not before January, 1785, was there a Methodist Church, as such, in America, nor a Methodist Pastor.

Let all honor be paid to the memory of the zealous, God-fearing founders of the Methodist Church in this country; let songs of Thanksgiving and Praise arise throughout the land, for the glorious success which has followed their devotion and disinterested labor; but do not let inconsiderate speakers and writers claim for the pioneers in their cause, what they would disclaim were they now living.

H. B. D.

IX.—THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONSTITUTION OF 1779.

Captain Goodwin's brief notice of the Constitutional Convention in New Hampshire, in the last number of the *MAGAZINE*, has recalled to my memory a clever performance of Dr. BELKNAP, relating to the work of that body, which I found in one of the newspapers of the day, preserved in the collection made by Dr. GORPSON, the historian of the American Revolution. His index to the volume refers to it as

"Mr. Belknap's Pennycook Egg, A Burlesque on the proposed N. H. Constitution and which promoted the Rejection of it."

(From the *Independent Ledger*, July 20, 1779.)

Messrs. DUNN and FOLSON.

Notwithstanding all the strange stories which have been told in two papers, I question whether you have printed any that exceeds the following, which you may depend upon for fact, and which lately happened at Pennycook in New Hampshire.

A large speckled Hen which had been sitting on her nest, at times, for a twelvemonth, did on the 6th of June last produce an egg of an uncommon kind, which is now carrying about for a sight. I shall attempt to give you some description of it, with the conjectures of the virtuosi upon it. As the shell is happily transparent the inside may be perfectly well seen. The white appears exceeding thin and rare with here and there a black spot. This rarity of the white is thought to be occasioned by some defect in the nutritive faculty of the hen; for as this surrounding fluid is supposed to be intended to mollify the yolk and preserve it in a state of fecundity, it is conjectured that the fluid in its present state is insufficient for the purpose, and that the spots in it are rather signs of putrefaction than preservation. However, as reasoning from an analogy is not always conclusive we do not pronounce positively on the matter. The yolk which appears somewhat obscurely indeed thro' the external coverings, has been examined with a good microscope in a clear sun, and those who have the best skill in such matters conjecture that it contains a bird not of the right sort; but that it is they are not agreed. Some supposing the hen would not have ingendered with a bird of another species, except in the night, imagine it to be an out of a *Whippoorwill*. Others insist upon it to be a *hawk*, and even go so far as to pretend they can discover the beak and talons,

V.—THE EARLY METHODISTS. AND INTEMPERANCE.

Our respected contemporary, *The Methodist*, recently devoted a couple of columns to a discussion of the early history of the Temperance movement, especially considering the debt due by the world, on that subject, to Methodism and to Doctor Benjamin Rush.

While, in that article, *The Methodist* rendered all due honor to Doctor Lyman Beecher, whose *Six Sermons on Intemperance*, preached in 1825, did so much for the suppression of the evil, and to the zealous labors of "The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance," formed in Boston, in 1813, it claims for Doctor Rush's tracts, especially for that entitled *The Effects of Ardent Spirits*, issued, in various editions, from 1775 until 1813, the honor of being the earliest, or one of the earliest, instrumentalities employed successfully in that cause.

The Methodist then proceeded to notice the part taken by the early American Methodists in the same important movement,—indeed the article is entitled "*Dr. Benjamin Rush and Methodism*," and opens with a declaration of the indebtedness of the world "to Methodism and Doctor Rush, jointly," in this matter—yet, in unaccountable haste when it reaches the latter part of its subject, "It is not necessary to cite the early records of Methodism on the subject"—the very record, it seems to us, which was necessary for the establishment of its proceedings.

Now, this "record" of the part taken by the early American Methodists, concerning the moral evil of Intemperance, like that of the part taken by them on the equally moral evil of Slavery,—both of which, at that time, swept over the entire country, North and South,—was perfectly respectable and morally honorable; and we cannot understand why our good neighbor dismissed the

subject of his notice with a few cold words, loosely tacked on his mention of Mr. Wesley's ideas on the subject, apparently, as a tail is tacked on a kite, in order to keep the latter in an upright position.

Will *The Methodist* pardon us, if we supply the "record" which it has omitted, if not slighted? We are not of that denomination of Christians, nor do we agree with it on many of its leading tenets, but we are, nevertheless, disposed to see that it has fair play; especially when it is in the house of its friends.

As early as April, 1780, when "the Preachers in connection with Rev. Mr. John Wesley," met in Baltimore, in General Conference, the twenty-third "Minute" was in these words:

"Ques. 23.—Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor?"

"Shall we exhort our friends who will not renounce the practice?"

"Ans.—Yes."

This testimony struck at the very root of the evil, although it did not particularly allude to the use of alcoholic drinks; and, it seems to us, that both its character and the date which it bears, stamp it with respectability, and should command for it the respect of all who examine the general subject of which it treats.

But the Preachers did not rest at the distilleries. At their General Conference held at Ellis's Preaching House and, by adjournment, in Baltimore, in May, 1783, they advanced still farther in their movement against Rum—the Eleventh "Minute" reading thus:

"Ques. 11. Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, sell, or drink them in dram?"

"Ans. By no means: we think it wrong in its nature and consequences; and we desire all our Preachers to teach the people, by precept and example to put away this evil."

This conference was held at our own. —Ed. Hist. Mag.

The italics in this extract are ours. —Ed. Hist. Mag.

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But this was not all. In the standard edition of *The Form of Discipline for the Ministers, etc.*,—the Fifth,—under the Section—the Sixth—"on the Constitution of Deacons, and their Duty," is the following:

"Ques. 3. What other directions shall we give the Deacons?"

"Ans. Several:

"4. Vigorously, but calmly, enforce the rules concerning needless ornaments and drams" (p. 7).

Again: in Section xxxv. of the same work, on "The Nature, Design and general Rules of the United Societies," we find the following:

"There are about twelve persons in every class; one of whom is styled *The Leader*.—It is his duty,

"II. To meet the Ministers and the Stewards of the Society once a week, in order

"3. There is one only condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, a desire to flee from the wrath to come, i. e. a desire to be saved from their sins: But, wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shewn by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

"First, By doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind; especially that which is most generally practised; Such as

"Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors; or drinking them." (p. 48.)

We have not considered it necessary to carry our examinations to more recent dates or to less authoritative sources; yet we respectfully submit that on the

testimony which we have adduced, the conclusions of *The Methodist*, concerning the action of the Fathers of the denomination in America, have been fully sustained." H. R. D.

VI.—NOTES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

Mr. Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, iii. 582, *Note*, refers to two

The letters from Doctor Rush, on which *The Methodist* relied for its statements, are so very interesting, in this connection, that we lay them before our readers. They were addressed to Doctor Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, and are to be found in the original handwriting of Doctor Rush, in a volume of the correspondence of Doctor Belknap, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston.—*Belknap Papers*, i. 136.

LETTER I.

PHILADELPHIA, May 31st, 1789.

DEAR SIR: The commerce in African slaves has breathed its last in Pennsylvania. I am encouragingly the anxious that has finally attended the exertions of the Friends of an increased freedom and justice to go on in my romantic sentence (as they have often been called) of setting my countrymen. My next object shall be the extirpation of the abuse of spirituous liquors. For this purpose I have every year, for several years past, republished the inclusion tract *Essay on the Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Constitution* two or three weeks before harvest. The effects of this perseverance begin already to shew themselves in our State. A family, or township is hit with the publication one year, that perhaps neglected or ridiculed it: the year before, Associations are forming in many places to give no spirits at the ensuing harvest. *The Quakers and the Methodists* take the lead in these associations; as they have often done in enterprises that have morality and the happiness of society for their objects."

LETTER II.

PHILADELPHIA, July 12th, 1789.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Hall, the printer, has neglected to publish the essay upon spirits, probably from an opinion that it is less necessary than formerly. Much to be done will be done this year that has to do with the adjoining State of New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. From the influence of the Quakers and Methodists in checking this evil, I am disposed to believe that the business must be effected finally by religion alone. Since I returned, has been employed in visiting; and the conduct of New England, I. George F. has furnished me with a volume of law in making me wiser and sabbat. Let these considerations lead us to and on: the heads and governing bodies of all the churches in America, upon the subject. I have been a testimony (by particular desire) at a Methodist Conference against the use of a dram, spirits, and I hope with effect. I have likewise written to the Roman Catholic Bishop, Mr. Carroll, in Maryland to set an association on foot in his diocese against them. I have repeatedly held it upon a public testimony before published among them by the Presbytery of this city; and have suggested to our good Bishop, Dr. White, the necessity of the Episcopal Church, in a "strongly neutral in this interesting business. Be, then, my friend, and in your circle of influence, organize and do likewise."

* The italics in this extract are in the original.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

To the letter from the Attorney-general, M. Genet thus replied, on the twenty-first of December:

[From the same paper.]

PHILADELPHIA, 21st December, 1793.

2d year of the French Republic.

Citizen Genet &c. to Mr. Randolph,
Attorney General of the United States.

SIR,

Since you refuse to cause to be rendered to my Nation, the ally of yours, the justice claimed by its representative, I will apply immediately to the Judges; and should they refuse to admit my complaint, I will cover myself with the mantle of mourning, and will say America is no longer free.

Accept Sir, my profound respect for, and my attachment to, the United States, of which you are Attorney General.

GENET.

The suggestion of the Attorney-general, that the honor of the Minister of France could be more properly protected by private counsel than by the Federal authorities, seems to have been followed by M. Genet, who retained Edward Livingston as his Counsel and commenced proceedings for Libel against Messrs. Jay and King.

Soon after, M. Genet, who was a Girondist, was superseded in office, without being recalled to France, by M. Fouché, a Jacobin, who brought with him several letters from the mother and sisters of the former, together with an expression of the wishes of the party then in power in France, concerning the actions which he had instituted against the Chief Justice of the United States and the Senator from New York.

He informed M. Genet that the French Government would like to have these actions discontinued, as they might be prejudicial to the good feeling which France desired to maintain with the United States; and, at the same time, he

informed M. Genet that under the existing laws of France, the estates and lives of the families of her Ministers were held accountable for their conduct, abroad.

Robespierre was at the head of the Government, and there was no alternative for M. Genet—he must either obey, and, for the supposed good of France, discontinue the actions, or, by continuing them, expose his defenceless family, in Europe, to the merciless vengeance of that relentless leader of the Jacobins, who was, also, his equally relentless political enemy. The Minister yielded to this unusual appeal, by reluctantly obeying the constituted authorities of his country; discontinuing the actions which he had instituted against his reproachers; silently submitting to a perpetration, as History, by them and their party, of the fiction of the intended “appeal from the President to the People”; and, years after—still, through the machinations of party, in America, *without an official recall from his post of duty*—passing to the grave, the continued object of what seems to be an unmerited censure.

It is the province of History, to do justice both to the Minister and his accusers; and, for the purpose of promoting that object, these facts are submitted.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., October, 1860.

II.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND SLAVERY.

In our last Number, we referred, briefly, to the testimony borne by the Early Methodists against the sin of Intemperance: we propose in this, to pay our passing respects to that which the same persons bore against the practice of holding Slaves.

At the Conference held at Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1780, the

following Minutes were made on the subject referred to:

"*Quest. 16.* Ought not this Conference to require those traveling Preachers who hold slaves, to give promises to set them free?"

"*Ans.* Yes.

"*Quest. 17.* Does this Conference acknowledge that slave-keeping is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society, contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom?"

"*Ans.* Yes."

At the same meeting, the Conference decided that "the Assistant ought to meet the Negroes himself, and appoint as helpers in his absence, proper white persons, and not suffer them to stay late and meet by themselves."

At the Conference, holden at Ellis's Preaching-House, on the sixth of May, 1783, and at Baltimore on the twenty-seventh of the same month, the following Minutes were made:

"*Quest. 10.* What shall be done with our local Preachers who hold slaves, contrary to the laws which authorize their freedom, in any of the United States?"

"*Ans.* We will try them another year. In the meantime, let every Assistant deal faithfully and plainly with every one, and report to the next Conference. It may then be necessary to suspend them."

At the next Conference, held at Ellis's, on the last day of April, 1784, and at Baltimore, on the twenty-eighth of May, the subject was again discussed and the result will be seen in the following Minute:

"*Quest. 12.* What shall we do with our friends that will buy and sell slaves?"

"*Ans.* If they buy with no other de-

sign than to hold them as slaves, and have been previously warned, they shall be turned out; and permitted to sell on no condition.

"*Quest. 13.* What shall we do with our local Preachers who will not emancipate their slaves in the States where the laws admit it?"

"*Ans.* Try those in Virginia another year, and suspend the preachers in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey."

"*Quest. 22.* What shall be done with our traveling Preachers that now are, or hereafter shall be, possessed of negroes, and refuse to manumit them where the law permits?"

"*Ans.* Employ them no more."

At the next Conference, however—that which organized the first Methodist Episcopal Church in America, in January, 1785—there seems to have been some reaction on the subject, if not a compromise with the evil, which had been so emphatically denounced by the Conference of 1780, as "contrary to the laws of God, man and nature; hurtful to Society, contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion," etc.; and the following is the record of that movement, from the official *Minutes* of the Conference:

"It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the Minute on Slavery, till the deliberations of a future Conference; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the Minute shall be put in force."

"N. B.—We do hold in the deepest abhorrence, the practice of Slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means."

We have not yet discovered any action which removed this suspension of the execution of the Minutes of 1780, 1783, 1784 and 1785; and, so far as the Conferences are concerned, if we are not mistaken, the Methodist Slaveholders of

Virginia were never subsequently annoyed by their immediate ecclesiastical superiors, either by threats of suspension from Church-fellowship or by suspension itself.

H. B. D.

III.—QUERIES.

ROBERT COUCH.—I find in a list of books printed for, and sold by, John Lawrence, at the Angel in the Poultry, over against the Compter, London, which list is appended to the Works of Lord Delamer, 1694, the following title:

"*Pæris Catholici; or, the Country-man's universal Remedy; Wherein is plainly and briefly laid down the nature, matter, manner, place and cure of most diseases incident to the body of Man, not hitherto discovered; whereby any one of an ordinary Capacity may apprehend the true cause of his distempers, wherein his Cure consists, and the means to effect it; together with rules how to order Children in the most violent disease of Vomiting and Looseness, &c. useful for Seamen and Travellers. Also an account of an Incomparable Powder for Wounds or Ulcers, which cures any ordinary ones at once dressing.* Written by Robert Couch, sometimes Practitioner in Physick and Chirurgery at Boston in New England. Now Published with divers useful Additions (for Publick Benefit) by Ch. Pack, Operator in Chymistry."

Is anything further known of Robert Couch, the author of this book?

BOSTON.

IV.—REPLIES.

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.—(H. M. x. 292.)—The *Cerberus*, a thirty-six gun frigate, was the vessel that carried to England, General Gage's official account of the Battle of Bunker's Hill. She was commanded by Captain Chads; and took

out three thousand letters from the British Army to their friends at home. Gage's account was dated June 27th, eight days after the battle; the *Cerberus* no doubt sailed forthwith. She arrived at Portsmouth, England, on the twenty-fifth of July; and was immediately docked, repaired, and sent back to Boston, with letters of recall to General Gage, where she arrived on the twenty-sixth of September. The official account was at once published by Government, though news of the battle had reached Falmouth on the nineteenth of July, obtained by a news-boat of that place, which spoke a New-England vessel bound up the Channel. The Captain gave the boat an American newspaper of June 24th, containing a hurried account of the battle; some of the details were ridiculously incorrect, as for instance, "during the fight, Gen. Putnam was reinforced with 6,000 fresh troops and 27 field pieces." The London papers were filled, for weeks, with melancholy details of the sanguinary fight, taken from the letters of the survivors. The terrible slaughter of British officers, being greater in proportion to the privates, than in any of their Continental campaigns, excited great comment. It was considered a victory too dearly purchased, even on Gage's statement. On the thirty-first of July, six days after the official account was published, a ship was cleared at the London Custom House for Boston, with two thousand colins.

The *Cerberus* had arrived in Boston only a few weeks previous to the battle, with Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, as passengers.

R.

Washington, D. C.

WINNISMET FERRY.—(H. M. x. 293.)—Winnismet was the Indian name for Chelsea, Mass. Winnismet Ferry (one of the oldest in the country, having been established in 1631,) connected then, and

in his literary acquaintance throughout the land, as a friend in token of gratitude for hospitality and assistance enjoyed by him during his trip. The book itself, "It is that Bibliography, then hardly known here, was considered a useful waste of time; so it that those who were well fitted to appreciate the immense and well-labored labor embodied in Eudewig's book, were reluctant to accord to *the foreigner* the full measure of praise to which he was clearly entitled. The fact remains that for about two hundred and fifty copies of his book sent as presents to as many literary men or to libraries, the author received just twenty-seven letters of acknowledgment. He was seriously hurt by this slight; and, in course of time, took a characteristic revenge. Continuing his labors in collecting bibliographical material, he printed a supplement to his book, but struck off only thirty copies, of which he retained three, and sent twenty-seven to the gentlemen who had acknowledged his first gift. Meanwhile, the value of his book had become very generally acknowledged; copies occasionally appearing in book sales, always but in at very high prices, and the supplement was in great demand. But nothing was noted from the author by aspirants, but the poorest regrets that it was entirely out of print.

Having settled in New York, Eudewig began the regular course of study for the American bar in a lawyer's office, and with his general knowledge of law he very soon mastered the questions of local practice, and opened an office of his own which he continued to till he died.

All his leisure time was devoted to literary labor, but his leisure time commenced when ordinary people go to bed, for he cultivated it as much a matter of business to devote his talents to the use of his fellow men in associations, clubs, halls, singing unions and public enterprises of every description is to attend to his law business during the day; and his general presence as well as his incomparable intellectual superiority made him the vanguard of all social gatherings which he attended. Returning home late at night he would then seal the midnight hours for correspondence with literary societies, or contribute in all parts of the world, or in preparing communications to the periodical press of Europe and America. He was an honorary member of a number of learned societies, and never failed to pay in ample contribution for all the honors he received. Among these contributions was a very valuable "History of Political Parties in the United States," from the adoption of the constitution until the party of Native Americans, which was so active at the time of his arrival in this country. Numerous papers on Indian subjects were also prepared by him, and he kept up a running correspondence with the editors of the

Augsburg Gazette and of the *Avsaland*, furnishing them political and geographical information.

During all these labors he kept upon him for all literary celebrities visiting New York, and had always the warmest welcome and practical aid for poor men of merit. Thus his expenses were much greater than his income from his law business, and his property gradually decreased. It is presumed that much of it was actually destroyed by a fire which occurred in his office in Wall street, a safe which he had trusted proving unsafe. At all events, from that day he was obliged to work much harder for money than he had ever done before. But none of his friends ever heard a complaint from his lips. He continued to be the same cheerful companion he had ever been, but he would leave the social circle sooner and work deeper into the night. Thus he undermined his health and died after a painful illness, in the forty-eighth year of his life, in December, 1837. Even during his last illness he continued his literary labors, reading as cheerfully as his sufferings would permit the proofs of his *Bibliotheca Glottica*, being a bibliography of American Indian Languages, published by Trilmar, in London, and expressing great joy that he lived to finish it. He died like the wise man he had always been in life, quietly assuring his friends that he was perfectly ready to go, having been early taught to be ready at any moment.

It is to be regretted for the sake of literature that he did not live to collect his works, which were a multiplicity as they were numerous. He was beloved by all who knew him; and his vast accomplishments derived with utter self-sacrifice to the service of his fellow men, entitle a man to the love of his neighbors, he was universally beloved.

B. G.

EX - EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

REPLY OF *The Methodist* TO *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

[By an agreement with *The Methodist*, we published in our May number, in columns all that its editors had to say, in answer to our former articles on this subject, on condition that an equal space in *The Methodist* should be devoted to our reply, which was printed in our June number.

After attempting, unsuccessfully, to withdraw our article, without previously obtaining our consent, *The Methodist* published a portion of that article, without intimating to its readers, as we requested it to do, that there were other portions which it did not have respecting, and, soon after, without alluding to the omitted portions of that reply, an attempt to recognize the existence of those portions, it rejoined, in defence of the founder of its sect, and of his followers in America, in an article which speaks for itself concerning the peculiar integrity to the "Truth, per se," of those who control for a cause in their pecuniary relations.

The manner is that rejoinder—our readers will not fail to compare with our reply, to which it is responsive, in the June number. We shall pay our respects to it at an early day.—*The Hist. Mag.*

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that that letter was the "mark" referred to by the Prophet in the place referred to; and that, as it was sometimes used in their day by the Samaritans, so, also, it was used, in the days of the Prophet, in the form of a St. Andrew's Cross. Montfaucon, also, says that the Samaritans thus designated the letter as some of their signs; and the Vatican Alphabet, published by Nodding in 1806, exhibits the last letter in that form.

It is also true, however, that we have no evidence which is worthy of *Historical* employment to prove the characters which the angel Gabriel employed to designate the chosen few—it is, indeed, that creature was ever employed as such an exacting mission, and it is not very strange that Jerome had Origen really said concerning the "mark" referred to by the Prophet, what is attributed to them by their more modern editors, since Scaliger would not have failed to allude to such an important avowal, while opposing their testimony, had they really seen it; nor would he have so boldly introduced their arguments, if he had done so in all, had the testimony of the same which were current in their day so emphatically sustained them.

It is pertinent, also, on the face of the prophecy, that the original Hebrew is a *sign*, not a mere letter of the alphabet, but a peculiar sign or "mark" of designation, by means of which one class could be distinguished from all others, as those of the Yeshuim are distinguished from those of the Soveu, to-day, in the great parable, in Hildesheim, by means of the longitudinal line of remission, marked on their foreheads by the Babylonian; and it is thus particularly described both in the *Targum* and in the *Septuagint*; as well as by Solomon Jarchi, David Kimchi, and other ancient authorities in Rabbinical literature.

We do not pretend to deny, however, nor do we admit, that the symbol of the Cross of Christ was thus referred to by the Prophet, in his mention of a "mark"; but, as will be seen, we have not yet found any evidence of it which we consider trustworthy when tested by the laws of Historical evidence; nor have we yet seen any reason for considering the X, which admitting as true all that has been said of it was thus spoken of as an equivalent to *Hilber*, for the ordinary symbol of the peculiar Cross, the +, which is so closely associated with Our Saviour and Calvary. We do not pretend to deny, also, nor do we admit, that the mighty men of old carried, generally, as an amulet or charm, a figure of the Cross of Christ; we simply saw the production of testimony to prove that such a figure was a recognized form, generally used for such a purpose, rather than a latitude for fashion's sake, for ornament, as it is now worn, too often, as such, dangling from the ears of vain and silly, if not ungodly and unrepentant, women, or more

after the ancient style, as scarfpins, to secure the skirts with which both men and women are decorated, too often, at the expense of good taste and Christian propriety. If we do not mistake the Maltese cross, the very form referred to by our honored friend, Mr. Eschbach, is the badge of office worn by the Aldermen and Councillors now in authority in the city of New York. And we should be loath to believe that the wearers of it, in this instance, regard it in the light indicated by Mr. Eschbach; and we should be equally unwilling to be made the innocent instrument for misreading the Eschbach of the future, who may accidentally stumble over the portrait of one of the municipal fathers of this generation of New Yorkers, and be led to believe from the evidence furnished by this badge, that its wearer considered the bauble either as an amulet or a "mark" of his religious character, or in any other light than a toy which contains in itself good gold.

We have not the slightest objection, it will be seen, to believe that Eschbach referred to *That* when he mentioned the "mark," in the passage referred to; and that *That* was then generally received in the form of a St. Andrew's cross; we only want what we have not yet found, *Historical* evidence of it. We have not the slightest objection, also, to the assertion that the mark or sign X was an exact synonym of the sign or mark +, in the days of the Prophet, or that it is such a synonym to-day; we only want what we do not possess, undoubted evidence of its identity, then and now. We have no objection to learn that the sign—formal, cold, and doubtful—recognized in the days of the Prophet, that they now reject the Cross of Christ as a symbol of salvation; we simply await the production of evidence to prove it, as we hardly wait the day which shall dawn on the other class people of God universally recognizing the great truth which that symbol portrays, by practically seeking safety where only perdition can be found.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

X.—EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

I.

[From *The Methodist* of March 30, 1867.]

Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, N. Y., publishes a periodical of some value, but of little note, called the *Historical Magazine*. Availing himself of the late "centennial" interest of Methodists—for the purpose, probably, of attracting attention to his publication—he opened his December number with an article of some or

eight large pages, over his own initials, impeaching Methodism as disloyal to the American Revolution. He accuses Methodist historians of a lack of veracity in their accounts of the Church at that period, referring particularly to Stevens's *History of Methodism*, vol. ii. pp. 124, 130. This reference is singularly unfortunate for the accuser, (as we shall hereafter show) for Stevens fully admits Wesley's political errors, but gives decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of opinion in favor of the Colonists, which Mr. Dawson must have read, according to his reference, but which he entirely ignores—showing a want of candor which must be fatal to his authority on the question. He attempts, however, to place Rev. Mr. Wakely among his indorseers or authorities, as "acknowledging that Mr. Wesley and the early "Methodists, both in Europe and America, were "Episcopalians and Tories." Mr. Wakely will hardly acknowledge the credit, we suppose: all that he says, as cited by Mr. Dawson, is that the Little New York society at first "were considered—as part and parcel of the Church of England,—and "communion at St. Paul's church;" and that "Wesley was known to be a great loyalist," etc.; and that "this was the case also with Mr. Fletcher." We are not aware that Mr. Wakely anywhere affirms the American Methodists generally to have been Tories; and if he had so declared, we should not acknowledge his authority.

As a general fact, Englishmen (natives of England) in the Colonies were loyal to the Crown; and it could hardly be expected to be otherwise. Most clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church were such, having been educated in England, if not born there. Hence, nearly all such clergymen declined to take side with the Colonial party. Many of them left their parishes, and returned to England. For example: in Virginia, when the war began, sixty-one counties had ninety-five parishes, with one hundred and sixty-four churches and ninety-one clergymen; when the war ended, nearly a fourth of her parishes were extinct, and thirty-four of the remaining seventy-two were without pastors; twenty-eight only of her ninety-one clergymen remained, and but thirty-six parishes were supplied. The Protestant Episcopal clergymen generally, North as well as South, adhered to the Royal Government, for they were generally Englishmen.

In like manner, most of the few Methodist preachers sent over by Wesley, being Englishmen, and forbidden by their ecclesiastical regime to intermeddle with politics, retired from the country to England about the time of the Revolution; but Asbury remained, and was always loyal to the United States. He suffered some inconvenience at the outbreak of the war, as did some of the native preachers—not, however, for disloyalty, but because they could not conscientiously

take some of the Colonial test oaths. Each Colony, it must be borne in mind, prescribed its own oath; and in some of the Middle and Southern Colonies, where the Methodist preachers suffered, these oaths required the subscribers to *take up arms* and enter the camp, if called upon by the Colonial authorities. Not only Asbury, but native and patriotic preachers, like Jesse Lee, could not take such oaths. They believed that their call to preach the Gospel forbade it. Their disloyalty amounted only to a refusal to take these oaths. As we shall hereafter show, they were the first ecclesiastical men of the country to acknowledge officially the new Government, and to affirm the obligation of loyalty to it; and the whole history of their Church has been a record of devoted loyalty.

Good old Captain Webb is especially branded by Mr. Dawson; but, obviously, without the slightest reliable evidence. Indeed, the religious circumspection of that devoted man in his peculiar circumstances is admirable. It must be remembered that he was a retired British officer, with half-pay, but, being exempt from the obligation of active service, he consecrated himself, with the most unimpeachable caution and disinterestedness, to the promotion of religion. He lingered some time after the revolutionary storm had broken out, laboring only for the founding of Methodism, and retired at last quietly to his home in England, where he pursued till his death the same exclusively evangelical course.

In the spring of 1777 the good Captain took leave of the Baltimore Methodists in a discourse in which he said they would see his face no more, as he was about to depart for New York on his way to England. He met there a certain John Carey, manager of an iron forge in New Jersey, whom he engaged to get his paper money changed preparatory for his embarkation. A man in Baltimore, knowing (what was no secret) that the Captain was a half-pay British officer, and that he was bound to New York (then in possession of the British) suspected him of being a British spy, and accused Carey as his accomplice. Carey was actually imprisoned in Philadelphia under this accusation, but, in a memorial to General Schuyler, stated the whole history of the case, and was discharged. The memorial is among "the Schuyler manuscripts in the possession of "the family." Captain Webb quietly reached New York, and as quietly returned to his English home. Out of this flimsy theme Mr. Dawson weaves an impeachment of this noble old hero's character. That Captain Webb was true to his well-known position as a retired British officer we have no doubt; we should rather regret to learn that he had not been. But he was practically neutral, and every way decorous to the American public opinion; he kept faithfully

to his own work of evangelization as long as he could peacefully do so, and then honorably retired.

Ashbury was at last left alone in the field, protected by the Governor of Delaware, all the other English preachers having retired to the Middle and Southern Colonies—in all the Methodist field, in fact, except the city of New York, which, for about seven years, had no place in the Methodist appointments, and no access to the Annual Conference, being in close possession of the British army. All the other preachers were native men; they were among the noblest men this country ever produced: they gave themselves exclusively to their own work of preaching the Gospel. We have no evidence what were their personal opinions about the war, for they were utterly absorbed in their own spiritual warfare against the powers of darkness. We only know that none of them refused to bind themselves by national wars or take up arms. Some of them had peculiar notions about war, and did not believe in fighting at all. Jesse Lee, a native Virginian, we know entertained such notions, and when drafted, consented to go into camp as a preacher, and wagon-driver, but not as a fighter. He did so, preaching and praying from camp to camp, wielding the power of the Gospel over officers and men for some time, until he was honorably discharged. Bishop McKendree was a faithful soldier down to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, which he witnessed. Thomas Ware was in some of the hardest fights of the war, bore honorable wounds, and was the intimate friend of Washington. Chievrant, a heroic founder of the Pittsburgh and Western Virginia Conference, was a veteran of the Revolutionary army. Lastly, Matthews, his fellow-pioneer of the Gospel among the Alleghenies, was also his comrade in the camps of the Revolution, where they read the Bible together by their bivouac fires. Benjamin Biddick, one of the founders of the old Genesee Conference, and a pioneer of Methodism among the Wyoming and Tioga Mountains, was a Revolutionary hero, Jacob Carter, a founder of the Church in the South, went preaching and suffering to his grave under wounds received in the Revolutionary battles; McCormick, the founder of the denomination in Ohio and all the great "Northwestern Territory," fought through the Revolutionary struggle, and helped to take Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The early Church was full of Revolutionary soldiers, and not a few were in the ministry, entering it soon after the war, without the slightest apprehension that it was a Tory Church, as represented by Mr. Dawson.

But we have hardly entered upon our subject yet, notwithstanding the interest and importance of these details. Many of Mr. Dawson's imputations, especially regarding the New York Society,

Wesley, and the organization of American Methodism, remain to be noticed; and we shall return to the question, for there are few things of which American Methodists can be more justly proud than of their patriotic record. Few matters deserve to be more fully, and, once for all, decisively placed right in history, and we propose to so place it before we dismiss the subject.

II.

[From *The Methodist* of April 13, 1867.]

We gave an article, a few weeks since, on Henry R. Dawson's editorial in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, in which he impeaches the loyalty of the early Methodists. It was seen that Mr. Dawson is an credible authority for the facts of the question. We have yet more completely to show his inaccuracy as the editor of a "Historical Magazine." It is seldom, indeed, that a more astonishing misconception and distortion of facts can be found than is presented in his pages.

As regards the little New York Society so long isolated by the British army (in possession of the city) from the General Connection, we doubt not that many of its members were, at the beginning of the war, in sympathy with the Home Government; for they were mostly Englishmen, and a very large majority of the population of the city was, at that time, on the same side of the controversy. But most of these English Methodists, like the English citizens generally, left the city, and the little society came out of the war quite generally loyal; and, while the war lasted, they were, as a Church, uncompromised by politics. The old leading families were long known, even to many of us, and were known as sound patriotic citizens, and their children rejoice among us to-day in their honorable record. Mr. Dawson represents them as quite otherwise. He intimates that the British army allowed them to keep their chapel because of their Toryism. This is utterly false. Doubtless the well-known early commitment of Wesley on the Colonial question had some influence in their favor; but the British officers spared several other chapels. The Wall street Presbyterian church and the Lutheran churches were equally "respected," because the Scotch and German troops of the British army needed them for Sunday worship. Now it was precisely in this same way that old John street was "respected." It was given to the Russian troops and their chaplain, who used it on Sundays, and the Methodists could use it only on Sunday nights. Stevens's History states the case correctly, and describes an interesting and patriotic scene which occurred in the old chapel, which is well worth citing:

"During the war, when the bay was long dark and the little church in New York was totally isolated from the rest of the Methodist community. Before the war it reported more than two hundred members; at its close but sixty. If some of its communicants were royalists at the arrival of the British troops, yet, by their removal to Nova Scotia and elsewhere, they left no decided majority who were loyal to the Colonial cause. Those, however, were warlike, soldier, military of mind; and they attacked themselves quite as much as they attacked the Tories. One of our people, Mr. Wesley's admirer, were disposed to cry, 'Tories.' The ladies, on the other hand, showed their much-revered but the unfortunate and the common to be often loyal to them with respect, probably knowing to be their real sentiments on the war. They would stand in the aisles during wars up with their hands up, and sometimes ventured on more than sufficient offenses. On one occasion, at the concluding hymn, they sang the 23d and sang 'God save the King,' as a test of the opinions of the people. The latter were familiar with a lyric of Charles Wesley adapted to this tune. Their indignation, or patriotism, for more accurate their vocal emotion, and they followed the 'royal song' with their own triumphant hymn:

"Come, thou Almighty King,
 Help us Thy Name to sing,
 Help us Thy Name to praise,
 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
 O'er all the world Thy power
 Come, and reign evermore,
 In Ancient Days,
 Jesus, our Lord arose,
 Greater our conqueror,
 And made them free,
 Let him rule and reign
 Till our souls are free,
 Lord, hear our cry,
 And make them free."

This is a sufficient vindication of the early New York society; but we must allude to one or two more blunders respecting them.

"Finally," says Mr. Patterson, "when the Tories, at the close of the war, sought safety in exile, preferring to reign in hell, rather than serve in heaven, Rev. John Mann, and probably Rev. Samuel Spring, of the John Street Church, and a large number of the members of that society, removed to Nova Scotia, where, subsequently, Rev. Freeman Garretson, on the invitation of Chancellor Livingston, and a New York Methodist refugee, became the 'proselyting elder.' Strange misapprehension of blunders! Now the Rev. Samuel Spring here alluded to had been one of the English preachers sent over by Wesley. At the breaking out of the war he retired from the work to New York, on his way to England, but stayed there preaching for the Methodists, and afterward be-

came a Protestant Episcopal pastor in Elizabeth, N. J., where he died; and where he is commemorated by a monumental tablet on the wall of his church. He had nothing to do with any expedition of Methodists to Nova Scotia. There was no such expedition. As stated above, the meetings of English members of John Street Society had been taking place during the war, so that that society, two hundred strong at the beginning of the war, was but sixty strong at its close, and these were good loyal people.

The "Rev. Mr. Mann" was an English layman who had become a local preacher in the city—on traveling or regular preacher—and preached for the society in its isolation during the war. His name was never in the list of appointments or ministers. He was not contained even as a local preacher. As an Englishman, he had, we suppose, sympathies with his countrymen, but that he was an active Tory we never heard. He went to Nova Scotia, where he was a useful Methodist, and died respected.

Upon this single fact we suppose the whole of this complicated story is founded by Mr. Patterson. When Freeman Garretson went to Nova Scotia, he found but few Methodists, and they were mostly from the Old Country, or converted in the Province, except some negroes who had fled from the United States for their liberty during the war, and doubtless some few white emigrants from the States.

The whole of this story relative to Garretson is a flagitious fiction. He was no "Methodist refugee." On the contrary, he was preaching here, at home, all through the Revolutionary war, with the highest regards of the Church from South Carolina to New York. The very fact mentioned, that he married into one of the most distinguished historical families of the nation, shows how he was recognized. He never thought of going to Nova Scotia until more than thirty years after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown; till, in due time, came over and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, and on that memorable occasion solicited him to go to the Province as a missionary.

We are not prepared to say what were the personal opinions of Garretson respecting the war, for we know of no recorded intimation of them. He was unwilling, like most of his ministerial brethren, to take those colonial parts which (in the middle colonies) required the preachers to take their appropriate work and take up arms, it called upon by the local authorities, for he, and they, believed they had a higher, a Divine commission to preach the Gospel. But he was a recognized and influential man, especially in Maryland and Delaware. The mob there persecuted him, as it did all active religious laborers, but only because of his religious activity. The

statesmen and public functionaries of those regions were (quite generally his friends, and no man in the Church had greater influence in the Middle States than he. Moreover, he was a man of remarkable amiability and Christian prudence. He was not given to political or any other passions. He won all hearts by his suavity and inoffensiveness—even the hearts of the rabble persecutors; and during his long life after the war, as before it, he moved in the best and most patriotic circles of the Middle and Southern States, universally accredited and revered as a citizen and as a Christian.

We have still more blunders of Mr. Dawson's to rectify, especially in regard to Wesley, and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The later record of Methodist loyalty is clear enough; as pure and as brilliant as that of any American denomination; but its early integrity has often been, at least indirectly, impeached. It is important that it should be duly ascertained and ascertained. While we readily admit that there was a mixture of political opinion—royalism as well as liberalism—in its ranks, we affirm that this was not more the case than with other religious denominations; and that, if we except the transient English preachers sent over by Wesley, the Church was, as it has always since been, truly patriotic and national, even beyond most other denominations. Our further proofs, in connection with what we have already submitted, will, we think, settle this question.

III.

[From *The Methodist* of April 27, 1867.]

We have heretofore shown the inaccuracy of many of the charges of the *Historical Magazine* against the loyalty of the early Methodists to the American Revolution. A few more of Mr. Dawson's (the editor's) errors remain to be corrected. We offer no apology for the leisure and misanthropy with which we pursue this investigation; for we are sure it cannot fail to be interesting as developing some curious matters of early Methodist history, and important as presenting a connected and thorough record of facts which have often been misrepresented to our disparagement, and of which we have long needed a fair, complete, and decisive review.

Mr. Dawson accuses Wesley of opposing the colonial movements for Independence, and his American people of co-operating with him in that opposition. Now, this is one of those cases of partial truth, but greater error, which always needs the fairest presentation, the soberest candor, on the part of the critic, for the partisan writer can take his stand on the partial truth,

and not deplete a fairer breadth from the real fact, and yet the result of his statement be a downright falsehood; for "so he," says Coleridge, "is so completely a lie as that which is based upon a partial truth." Mr. Wesley was, as we all admit, at first hostile to the American cause; but he changed his opinion, as Mr. Dawson well knows, for he gives a document which gives him the proof, yet he asserts Wesley's hostility without an intimation of his subsequent change of opinion and vindication of the colonial cause.

Wesley at first opposed the colonial movement in *A Call Addressed to our American Colonies*. Doubtless some of his English preachers, transiently in the colonies as missionaries at the time, sympathized with his opinions; as Englishmen they could hardly have done otherwise; but Mr. Dawson's charge that the American Methodists generally did so is totally without foundation. On the contrary, we know that a lot of *The Call Address*, sent over to them for circulation, was suppressed by them, and that it had no influence whatever on the political opinions of the Church.

An Englishman, preaching in New York, did defend him in the *Royal Gazette* of New York, against a charge of "blowing up the flame" of a London mob in 1789, and of thereby showing disloyalty to his king; and Mr. Dawson cites this defense to show that Wesley and the New York Methodists were opposed to the American movement. Now, every student of English history knows that this London mob—the famous Lord Gordon Riot—was an anti-Catholic outbreak, and had nothing whatever to do directly with the colonial question. Mr. Dawson gives an intimation of this fact whatever; and because Wesley and his friends vindicated his loyalty to his country's laws by declaring that he and his people did not "blow up this flame" in London, Wesley and his people, even his American people, are accused of hostility to the American cause! This is certainly a new sort of syllogism.

The New York English preachers did at this same time publish in the *Royal Gazette* of the city a letter of Wesley's, now bearing at all on the question of the London mob, but evidently written at an early period, showing Wesley's fidelity to his Government, and referring unfavorably to the American question. The design of its publication at this time was evidently to prove that Wesley, being loyal to his country, could not have incited the London mob. But the latter is without date; it only proves Wesley's opinion at a former and indefinite time. We doubt not that it expresses what was Wesley's opinion, throughout the war, of his duty of submission to the administration of his Government, and what was originally his opinion of the

American revolt. Can he changed his opinion on the latter question, as we shall proceed to demonstrate.

Before proving this last point, however, we must be allowed to say a word or two about his original *color-liberalism*. Mr. Dawson represents it as a plagiarism from Dr. Johnson's famous pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Liberty of the Press*—it was "purloined" from the latter, says Mr. Dawson. It is well known that Wesley and Johnson were intimate friends; Johnson admired the Great Founder, and only complained that he could not detain him long enough in company to converse with him more laboriously, for he esteemed Wesley one of the finest conversationalists in England. Wesley's sister, Martha (Mrs. Hall), was a favorite of the great author, and he tried to induce her to live in his family at Bath Court, with Messrs. Williams and Du Moulin. Boswell has frequent references to her. No two men, probably, of that day in England had more mutual regard than Johnson and Wesley. Wesley was in the habit of leaving, occasionally, abridgements of literary works for the common people. He thus sent forth a brief sketch of his friend Johnson's pamphlet. In a second edition he states that it is an abridgement of Johnson's work. There was no thought of plagiarism in the matter, and Johnson was delighted with Wesley's conduct respecting it. Stevens's *History of Methodism* gives the facts truthfully. It says that "Johnson, however, not only approved Wesley's use of it, but felt honored by it. He wrote 'Wesley, in return, one of his finest compliments. I have thanks likewise to return you for the addition of your important sacrifice to my argument on the American question. To have gained such a mind as yours may justly confirm me in my own opinion. What effect my paper has on the public, I know not; but I have no reason to be discouraged. The lecturer was surely in the right who, though he saw his audience slinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato stayed.' Such was the history of this 'plagiarism.'"

But we have affirmed that Wesley modified his opinions on the American question, and had the noble courage to remonstrate with two of the king's cabinet ministers against the war. Again we quote from the *History of Methodism*, which says: "It is due to the memory of Wesley to say that he, meantime, wrote a letter to the Premier, Lord North, and to the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth, remonstrating against the war, and pleading for the Americans. He declares in it that, in spite of all his long-rooted prejudices as a Churchman and a loyalist, he cannot avoid thinking, if he think at all, that 'these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and

that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow. But waiving this—waiving all considerations of right and wrong, I ask,' he adds, with prophetic foresight, 'Is it common sense to use force toward the Americans?' My lord, what ever has been affirmed, these men will not be frightened; and it seems they will not be conquered so easily as was at first imagined. They will probably dispute every inch of ground, and, if they die, die sword in hand. Indeed, some of our valiant officers say, 'Two plain and men will clear America of these rebels.' No, nor twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, nor perhaps treble that number. They are as strong men as you; they are as valiant as you, if not abundantly more valiant, for they are one and all enthusiasts—enthusiasts for liberty. They are calm, deliberate enthusiasts; and we know how this principle breathes into softer souls stern love of war, and thirst of vengeance, and contempt of death. We know men, animated with this spirit, will leap into a fire, or rush into a cannon's mouth. The letter is long, and full of sagacious views and statesmanlike counsels."

This important letter has, within a few years, been given to the public, from the manuscripts of Lord Dartmouth's family. We shall hereafter publish it in *The Methodist*, for it qualifies entirely Wesley's relations to early American history. The American historian, Mr. Bancroft, deemed it of so much importance that, when it appeared, he cancelled several stereotype plates at his seventh volume, that he might insert quotations from it, correcting some of his earlier imitations of Wesley's opinions. American Methodists honor Bancroft's candor; they will regret that they cannot equally respect Mr. Dawson, who, as he refers to this part of Stevens's *History* for some of his charges against Wesley, must have known this conclusive correction of them, but declines to say a word about it! Wesley, then, did at last, and quite early in the war, come to believe that the Americans were "an oppressed people," and "asked for nothing more than their legal rights."

This is sufficient on the main point. But Mr. Dawson persists in his distortion of facts. Read this astonishing paragraph:

"Finally, in the fall of 1784, when the revolted Colonies had succeeded in the establishment of their Independence, Mr. Wesley coldly absolved the members of his Societies in America from their obligations to the Established Church of England, and authorized them to organize an 'Independent Church,' without a single supplication of Divine favor in their behalf—he had not even a naked wish for their success, nor a kind word of brotherly regard at

"the parting, so repentant were the prevailing ideas in America, and so distasteful the position of affairs in that country, to him and to his friends."

Now, Mr. Dawson refers to Stevens's *History*, and gives the above statement accurately; he evidently knew the facts. Everybody that knows them, from Stevens's account, and Wesley's address to the American Methodists at the time, as given in that account, know that this statement is erroneous. Wesley did not "boldly absolve" them from their obligations to the Established Church; he declared that they had no such obligations. He provided, in detail, a system of independent organization for them, "feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness," and was ready "gladly to embrace any other way" for the purpose, if any man could point it out to him. He sent over, as their first bishop, one of his chief friends and "assistants," Dr. Coke—his "own right-hand man," as he called him. He asserts in his letter, that "as one American brethren are now totally disentangled, both from the State and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty, *gladly embracing God but as strangely made them free.*"

Such, then, was John Wesley, and such were the early American Methodists, in respect to this whole question. Considering the fermentation and confusion of opinions at the time of the Revolution, we hesitate not to say that a fairer and more honorable record could not be demanded. As American Methodists we are rather content with it. It is well known, too, that at the organization of the M. E. Church, it was the first of American ecclesiastical bodies to formally recognize the new American Government, and did so in one of its organic "Articles of Religion"; that its bishops, after the inauguration of Washington, represented the Conference in a Personal Address to Washington, recognizing "our glorious Revolution," and were the first ecclesiastics of the country that did so; that when the "Articles of Confederation" were superseded by the adoption of "The Constitution," the M. E. Church changed its "Article of Religion," and declared the Government no longer a Confederation, but a "sovereign nation," enjoining loyalty to it as such, and thereby arraying its people, by prophetic anticipation, against the doctrine which led to the late rebellion; and that its people, thus trained to a true national faith, were prepared for the late war, and did more, as acknowledged by President Lincoln to save the nation in that struggle than any other religious body in the Republic.

I.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.

By GEORGE H. MOORE.

RICHARD WELSTON, JR., 24 SEPT. 1872.

Boston is New England, Sept. 24, 1872.

DEAR SIR,

Those undeserved kindnesses & favours have multiplied to some of my nearest & most precious relations & those incense you have laid upon my self by offering a Correspondence & Communication have sometimes made me ashamed at my so long silence, but the constant topos I have had of a suitable return to make a personal acknowledgement of my obligation, as they have again satisfied me so I hope they will amply. But now finding myself wrapped up & confined by business & restrained from opportunity, I am willing at once to lay hold upon this occasion to express my respects & confess my defect to duty, to yourself and manifest my allegiance & loyalty to his Majesty. I remember your request & intimation to assist you with such small affairs & occurrences as might fall under my knowledge & observation. And I know your familiarity is such & I need not copy out the Charter & Constitutions of these Colonies to you, nor inform you of the extent of his Majesty's Territory upon this Continent, nor of his subjects here planted themselves & proclaimed his sovereignty in all the habitable part between Cape Sable & Cape Romane, nor of a fair foundation was here lately laid for the Royal offspring of Great Britain to build a most glorious empire upon, nor need I to you enumerate the many useful & rich commodities of nature affords & Art & Industry may produce in these plantations. Truly this I confidently tell you & am persuaded that though these parts of the world are despised by the Princes of Europe, yet if the most potent among them were seated with their subjects upon this continent it would be more difficult to rouse them to require to their ancient Dominions, then now it is to remove them thence.

You are not ignorant, I know, of his Royal Highness with a vast expense gained & hath since maintained from the Dutch a province by them called the Manados, since in his Highness possession New York, which of late is most shamefully given up to the Dutch. The occasion whereof I shall briefly relate to you. On the 11 of July last Cornelius Everson with eight ships of War & a fire ship attacked at Virginia Beets at the appointed rendezvous for their return home near Point Comfort & at the same place had the same success as in the year 67 (burning & sinking 10 sails) only your convoy escaped &

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"ricus & act up in his principles, Judge you whether you must not profess yourselves regenerate—

"Which leads me also to request one thing of you Sir who are seeking the charge of this people, & this is to deal plainly & truly with them & let them know your principles which I am sure they do not, and as they are a part of my charge & I am bound to be concerned for them I request it of you y^e you would satisfy them in the following particulars.

"1st are not all baptized persons y^e are not communicated in the ch^h.

"2^d do you hold that it is lawful for any person who judges himself in a state of nature either to come to the Lord's Table or bring his children to Baptism.

"3^d will you allow any person to come to special ordinances without making a profession which does imply his being regenerate if he speaks true, or in other words if a person whose life is free from scandal shall tell you he thinks it his duty to attend the Lord's Supper as a converting ordinance but he does not look upon himself regenerate nor dare he profess anything with respect to his regeneration

"—will you admit such a person without making any profession that implies regeneration.

"4th what do you esteem to be the duty of a person in the ch^h who believes himself to be in a state of nature—is his duty to come to the Lord's Table or dissent himself—I entreat you to think of these things and let me know and this people who are under my charge your sentiments on these things y^e you may not be deceived in matters of great importance to y^e Souls."

The scene which must have been presented on the occasion of the delivery of this address must have been such as even a novelist would allow to be sensational. It would appear that the Greenfield people, toward the close of the year 1732, or the commencement of 1733, had matured their plans and invited Mr. Billing to become their Minister, or at least to preach for them—that he had arrived upon the ground—that on this last occasion (probably) before the secession of the congregation took place, the Greenfield people, together with Mr. Billing himself, were present at Deerfield, worshipping with Mr. Ashley's people, and that he took adroit advantage of this occasion to throw the apple of discord among the seceders, or disengage

them from the man whom they designed to call as their Minister. It was a bold experiment, but in keeping with the character of Mr. Ashley. His effort however was futile. The Greenfield people adhered to Mr. Billing, and withdrew from Mr. Ashley's congregation. He was compelled to see the man whom he, above others despaired, had been instrumental in unsettling at Bolton-town, through his intemperance and arguments at Northampton, the leader of an important secession from his own church.

It was thus that the principles of Edwards made progress, even where they were most opposed. His *Treatise*, and his expulsion from Northampton made them understood throughout New England, and the half century which followed merely settled the local details of a victory already won. One by one, the Churches, either by formal vote, or by the silent influence of their pastors and of a changing public opinion, came into the scheme of Edwards, until it seemed scarcely credible that such views as those which were held by his opponents could have had such a strong hold on a large portion of the New England Churches.

III.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

REPLY TO THE EDITORS OF *The Methodist*.

The Methodist of the thirtieth of March, the fifteenth of April and the twenty-seventh of April, contained a series of papers in answer to our article on this subject, printed in the December number of *The Historical Magazine*, and as we have copied the articles referred to in our last number we propose to offer a few words in reply.

The question involved is one concerning the History of Early Methodism, and whether or not the several statements contained in our original article on that subject were true. It is one concerning *facts* rather than *opinions*; and it is to be decided by the weight and character of the evidence adduced on either side, rather than by the "note" of the witness before the world or his standing in society or in the Church. If, therefore, we can produce *better* evidence to support than *The Methodist* has produced to controvert, our original statements, it matters not if our "value" or "note" is below the Methodist standard, since our fidelity as a Historical writer will not suffer; and the world of letters and the common sense of the world at large will declare, in that case, that while *The Methodist* may or may not be the superior authority on questions of mere *opinion*, on matters of History

* The address given above was copied from a leaflet among Mr. Ashley's manuscripts, and the handwriting is indubitably his. The first portion of the discourse is wanting.

† It was on April 2nd 1733 that the town of Deerfield voted for a Committee to consider and determine the dividing line between that town and the proposed district on the North side of Deerfield River. The charter of Greenfield was dated June 17th.

which are matters of solid facts, *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, whether of "little note" or the contrary, is the peer of its neighbor, in every respect.

If our original narrative was false, as *The Methodist* has repeatedly stated, the emphatic denials and counter-statements which it has made in its answer, are true; and "the late centennial interest of Methodism," to which it has referred, instead of affecting the subject disadvantageously, will have afforded a wide field for the dissemination of the Truth, as it will have been thus established by our opponent, before many witnesses. It seems to us, therefore, aside from the standards of the Church and the teachings of the Bible, that, in that case, magnanimity to a discomfited opponent who has been considered worthy of so much of *The Methodist's* space and attention, should have prompted the latter to tell the whole truth, rather than a part of it; and by avoiding, on its part, a *suppression vari*, while it exposed our infidelity to the Truth, it would have given evidence to the world of its own good title to respectability. When *The Methodist* concealed the fact that the article in question was one of a series of articles on the early History of Methodism, which had appeared in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, month after month, successively, and insinuated that it was merely a special article, written for a special occasion, "for the purpose, probably, of attracting attention to his [our] publication," it "probably" fulfilled its mission as a religious weekly, as that mission is understood by its conductors; but we trust we shall be pardoned if we intimate, as we do most decidedly, that our idea of the mission of such a sheet is entirely different.

So also, when *The Methodist* spoke of the "decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of opinion in favor of the Colonists," and told the world that we "must have read" it in Doctor Stevens's *History of Methodism*, although it knew there was no such evidence there, it supposed, we have no doubt, that it was acting as became a Methodist journal, engaged with a contemporary older than itself, in discussing a purely historical subject; but we hope that it will pardon us again if, in this instance, also, we differ from it; nor will that pardon be less readily bestowed when we shall remind it that Mr. Wesley's own testimony to the contrary, adduced by us from the archives of the "Society" in John street, as published by its Pastor in August, 1780, and republished in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for December, 1866, was in its possession when it made this reckless assertion, and was entirely disregarded.

There are several other instances, in the three articles referred to, in which *The Methodist* has un-

sciously suppressed the truth, as if its readers could not to be safely entrusted with the original evidence in the case, nor even know of its existence; and it will pardon us, we hope, if we differ from it again, as we do, while we protest, in their behalf, that that evidence is far preferable, as a guide for the judgment of those readers than its own unsupported word on the subject can be.

We are not one of those who consider the laity as necessarily incapable of judging, from the evidence, for itself, concerning simple matters of fact: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this instance arises, probably, from the fact that we are a layman and not a Methodist, while it is the organ of Methodists who are, also, clergymen.

We believe that History is written properly only when it is written truly, and when it carries with it, openly, for the instruction of the judgment of those who shall read it, the best evidence of its truthfulness: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this respect is accounted for in the fact that we have no foregone theory to sustain and no ancestral nor denominational reputation to bolster up with fictitious partialism or questionable Christianity. We believe that when History has been thus correctly written and thus supported with the best original authorities on the subject, those who controvert it are less unfriendly to its author than to his authorities; and that the writer of the narrative, who faithfully repeats what he has learned from others who were most capable of imparting the information on which he writes, suffers less at the hands of a doubting disputant than do those on whose information he wrote his narrative: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this respect originated in the fact that we had seen no reason for discrediting John Wesley and Richard Boardman, "the old book" in John street and the *Minutes of the Conference*, J. B. Wakeley and Lorenzo Sabine, on matters of fact, concerning the Toryism of the Early Methodists, even for the purpose of accrediting Abel Stevens, I. I. D., with an importance as an Historian, to which he was not in the least degree entitled.

We believe that those who, while discussing historical subjects, shall conceal known facts which illustrate those subjects, and advance unfounded insinuations which shall be calculated to mislead their readers thereon, are cowardly partisans and falsifiers, and unworthy of credit: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this respect arises, probably, from the fact that its conductors control a wide-spread, popular, and influential sectarian periodical, whose prospects might be injured by a bold and manly declaration of the naked Truth concerning the History of its Denomination; while *The Historical Magazine*, without any party or sect at its back, is

devoted to unadorned History, and although "of some value," it is "a little poor."

The arguments which *The Methodist* has displayed on its own authority, in the articles to which this is an answer, are the—

1. "Every Methodist of that period," [during the American Revolution] "whether in Europe or America, was necessarily an Episcopalian, one of whose leading tenets was that George III., King of Great Britain, was his supreme ecclesiastical head on earth."

On this subject, we wrote, and *The Methodist* made no mention of, the following:

"We have before us a copy of the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Preachers in connection with Rev. John Wesley, Philadelphia, June, 1773—the first General Conference in America—during which the following Resolutions were agreed to* by all the Preachers present:

"1. Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ORDINANCES OF BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"2. All the People among whom we labour to be earnestly exhorted to ATTEND THE CHURCH, AND TO RECEIVE THE ORDINANCES THERE, but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia, to the observance of this minute.

"3. No person or persons to be admitted to our love feast, oftener than twice or thrice, unless they become members; and none to be admitted to the Society's meeting more than thrice.

"The 'RULES' thus 'agreed to by all the Preachers present,' in the General Conference, in 1773, were unquestionably respected by the Methodists throughout the several Colonies—even the War which, soon after, broke down all the sympathies of the great body of the inhabitants for everything that was English, could not eradicate the fidelity of the Methodists to the Established Church of England, as required by the 'RULES' which we have quoted. To prove this, we cite the following facts:

"In the General Conference, held in Kent County, Delaware, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1779, the tenth question asked, and the answer thereto of the Conference, were as follows:

"*Ques. 10. SHALL WE GUARD AGAINST A SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY?*

"*Ans. BY ALL MEANS.*

"Again: In the General Conference, held at Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1780, the subject was renewed, and similarly determined. The following is the official record of that action:

"*Ques. 12. SHALL WE CONTINUE IN CLOSE COMMUNION WITH THE CHURCH, AND PRESERVE PEOPLE TO A CLOSER COMMUNION WITH HER?*

"*Ans. Yes.*

"*Ques. 13. Will this Conference grant the privilege to all the friendly Clergy of the Church of England, at the request or desire of the people, to preach or administer the ordinances in our Preaching-houses or Chapels?*

"*Ans. Yes.*

"What was meant by 'the Church,' among those who, like this Conference, favored 'the Establishment,' at the dates referred to, needs little illustration—it referred to 'the Church' of England, as established by law in Virginia, &c.

"It will be seen from this authoritative testimony that the Methodists of 1766-85 were only a 'Society' within the Church: Mr. Wesley's letter 'To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America,' dated Bristol, September 10th, 1784, shows that, at that date, even, none of his preachers had been ordained—Francis Asbury was not even Deacon, before 1785, as will be seen in Section IV. of the *Form of Discipline*, Edit. N. Y. 1789.

"No one will pretend that an 'official member of any 'Society' can administer a Sacrament: Mr. Wesley's own *Sunday service of the Methodists—the 'Methodist Prayer Book'* (Edit. London, 1726, pp. 287, 288,) in the Ordinal service of Deacons, thus tells us what a Deacon might do:

"It will be seen that even Francis Asbury, prior to 1785, was disqualified for the administration of an ordinance; but it was equally certain that, prior to that date, there was not a Methodist Church in the country, in which such Ordinances were necessary: neither was there a Methodist Pastor. All this is evident from the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a General Conference held at Baltimore, January, 1785*, and the first printed *Form of Discipline*, Section IV.; and it seems proper to remind some of our friends that, prior to 1785, Methodists were necessarily *Episcopalian* of the British Established Church; that those who taught them were simply 'Preachers'; that their church edifices were simply 'Preaching-houses'; that even Francis Asbury was, subsequently, made successively a Deacon, Elder, and Bishop; and that not before January, 1785, was there a Methodist Church, as such, in America, nor a Methodist Pastor."

To this avowal, thus sustained, *The Methodist* made no attempt at reply, in either of its ar-

ticles; and we have a right to treat it as one which has been conceded by our opponent, with all its necessary consequences.

We have a right, in view of its silence on the subject, to consider *The Methodist* as conceding the truth of the assertion, thus sustained, that "every Methodist of that period was necessarily 'an Episcopalian,' and as necessary a daily supplicant for a bestowal of the Divine favor on George III., his Parliaments, his Armies, and his Fleets, as were Doctors, Senators, and Judges, Chandler and Wilkins, and all other Episcopalian of the period; and we have a right, also, in view of the same silence, to treat our opponent as conceding the claim, thus sustained, that it was not until the Conference of January, 1785, that George III. ceased, in law, to be the Supreme head, in ecclesiastical affairs, of every Methodist 'Society' in America; and that, until that time, the Canon, and Liturgy, and Common Prayer promulgated by his authority were their Supreme Law.

We say we have a right to thus take judgment against *The Methodist*, by default, although we are not disposed to do so—preferring rather to strengthen the evidence which this contradictory testimony affords concerning the Toryism of the Early Methodists, by the introduction of other testimony to prove the unequivocal Loyalty to the King, his Sovereign, of him on whom every Methodist leaned for support, at the period referred to; and thus to show that not only, in its streamlets, but at its very source, Methodism was Toryism. This brings us to our second proposition:

II. "Mr. Wesley made no attempt to conceal 'his repugnance to the earlier disloyalty of the Colonists; and when? (in the latter days of the War)' he was attacked by some of his countrymen who differed from him, his fellow Methodists 'in this country,' hastened to his relief, 'without the least hesitation.'"

In confirmation of this avowal we referred, in our original article, to the tract—compiled from Doctor Johnson's Ministerial production, *Taxation no Tyranny*—which Mr. Wesley wrote and published in 1775, with the title of *A Catechism Addressed to our American Colonists*; and from the latter we added the following as the opinion of the founder of Methodism, in the earlier days of the War, concerning the demands of the Americans for a redress of their grievances:

"These good men [the republicans in England] hope it will end, in the total defection of North America from England. * * *

"But, my brethren, would this be any advantage to you? Can you hope for a more desirable form of Government, either in England or America, than that which you now enjoy? After all the vehement cry for liberty, what

"more liberty can you have? What more religious liberty can you desire, than that which you enjoy already? May not every one among you worship God according to his own conscience? What civil liberty can you desire, which you are not already possessed of? Do not you sit without restraint, every man under his own vine? Do you not, every one, high or low, enjoy the fruit of your labor? This is real, rational liberty, such as is enjoyed by Englishmen alone; and not by any other people in the habitable world.

"Would the being independent of England make you more free? Far, very far, from it. It would hardly be possible for you to steer clear, between anarchy and tyranny. But suppose, after numberless dangers and mischiefs, you should settle into one or more Republics: would a republican government give you more liberty, either religious or civil? By no means. No governments under heaven are so despotic as the Republics; no subjects are so governed in so arbitrary a manner, as those of a Commonwealth. If any one doubt of this, let him look at the subjects of Venetia, of Genoa, or even of Holland." (pp. 14-15.)

"That they contend for, the cause of liberty' is another mistaken supposition. What liberty do you want, either civil or religious? You had the very same liberty we have in England. I say, you had, but you have thrown away the substance, and retain only the shadow. You have no liberty, civil or religious, now, but what the Congress pleases to allow." (pp. 19, 20.)

"Ten times over, in different words, you profess yourselves to be contending for liberty. But it is a vain, empty profession; unless you mean by that threadbare word, a liberty from obeying your rightful sovereign, and from keeping the fundamental laws of your country. And this undoubtedly it is, which the confederated Colonies are now contending for." (p. 23.)

The *Taxation no Tyranny* was probably written at the instance and under the patronage of the Royal Government—it certainly was; one of the most obnoxious to the Americans, of the many Tory pamphlets of that period—yet Mr. Wesley selected that from which to take his *Address to the Colonists*, in behalf of the Monarchy, and the Parliament, and the Church; and so well did he perform his labor that even Doctor Johnson, who was seldom civil to any body, not only approved Wesley's use of it, but felt "honored by it," as every other Tory would have been, by the co-operation of a volunteer from any quarter, in the service of the King.

To this direct evidence of Mr. Wesley's Toryism in 1775, *The Methodist* cannot offer either a

dental or an excuse: it contents itself, therefore, with telling its readers that *nothing* is completely "first" — and that we "knew Mr. Wesley changed his opinion," on the subject referred to, when "we referred to it," "without intimating his [Dr. Stevens'] subsequent change of opinion and exaltation of the Colonial cause"; and with other similar remarks which no one but a clergyman would ever have had the face to employ.

We say, plainly, that we **NEVER KNEW** until now know, that Mr. Wesley ever ceased to be loyal to the King of Great Britain, in the broadest sense of the term; and that we **NEVER KNEW** and do not now know that he ever entertained the least sympathy for the American Revolutionists or their cause, or ever, even by implication, "intimated the Colonial cause." We say, also, just as plainly, that neither Doctor Stevens nor *The Methodist*, nor both combined, **EVER KNEW** or now know any such thing of Mr. Wesley; and that neither the historians of Methodism nor its expounders in newspaper form, can produce any authentic authority to establish such an averment as *The Methodist* has thus put forth. Mr. Wesley was a well-known seeker for Governmental favor, a champion of those in authority; and, as Doctor Stevens and *The Methodist* both know, his faith is manifested in his Works, wherein the infidelity of man was never recognized in his disciples, and their mission in no way tinged but obey his mandates was never considered worthy of his notice. Nor need Doctor Stevens and *The Methodist* go very far to witness, personally, to-day, the entire absence of all sympathy, in Mr. Wesley and his followers, for every semblance of Republicanism, and his and their entire abhorrence for every thing that was Democratic. The "Societies" which he founded in America, even after eighty years of association with avowed Republicans, are, or were until very recently, controlled with as little regard to the individual manhood of their members as are the Greek Churches under the Czar, in Russia; and the Lady, until very recently, if at all, were never represented in the denominational "Conferences," wherein all questions of Faith and Discipline are determined; and were never considered of any temporal importance, except as subjects of a self-imposed Clergy and as blind supporters of *The Christian Advocate and Journal*.

When either Doctor Stevens or *The Methodist* shall see fit to produce "unsubstantiated" contradictory evidence of our infidelity to the truth of History, concerning Mr. Wesley and what he considered to be the "Rebels" in America, we shall take the earliest opportunity to withdraw our newspapers and acknowledge our errors in the most ample form: in the meanwhile, both the one and the other will pardon us if we prefer

to remain subject to their joint and several disapprobation rather than to purchase their goodwill at the expense of every thing that is requisite in a reliable Historian. But we have not yet done with Mr. Wesley.

In the summer of 1789, five years after he published his *Calvary Address*, a report was published in one of the New York newspapers affecting "Mr. Wesley's want of faithful attachment to the King and Constitution;" when his "Assistant preacher in that city," promptly produced a *ready-made* voucher for the loyalty of his chief, and stilled the rumor as soon as it was born—a movement which was subsequently confirmed by a second letter from Mr. Wesley and another, supporting it, from Richard Boardman, who was personally known to nearly all the Methodists in New York. The following is a copy of the record of this affair, from the originals in the Library of the New York Historical Society:

I.

[THIS REPORT CONCERNING MR. WESLEY.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 483, New York, Saturday, August 25, 1784.]

"**LONDON, June 7.** The mob have continued all last night with a degree of violence unknown for this century past. Many houses are pulled down; and the fine new building of Newgate they have reduced to ashes. The Dissenters, and Wesley, at the head of the Methodists are, as I observed before, blowing up the sand."

II.

[THE DEFENCE OF MR. WESLEY, BY HIS ASSISTANT IN NEW YORK.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 493, New York, Wednesday, August 30, 1784.]

"A number of gentlemen in this city, feeling themselves hurt at a paragraph in our last paper, copied from a letter from London, of the 17th July the following is inserted to remove all suspicion of the Reverend Mr. WESLEY'S WANT OF FAITHFUL ATTACHMENT TO THE KING AND CONSTITUTION."

"MR. RIVINGTON,

"SIR,

"**HAVING** read a paragraph in your Saturday's paper, in which the Reverend Mr. Wesley is charged with secretly blowing up the flame which has lately been kindled in London, we have sent you a copy of a letter from him to his Assistant Preacher in this city, your giving it a place in your Wednesday's

"super, will greatly oblige the Society of people
commonly called Methodists in New York."

"MY DEAR BROTHER
A REPORT was spread some time since
in England, that the British troops
were to be recalled from New-York, but I am
inclined to think it was raised and propagated
by designing men, who intended thereby to
weaken the hands of them that FEARED GOD,
AND HONORED THE KING, OR MY WEAK MEN,
who believed WHAT THEY WISHED; but it now
clearly appears to have been without any
foundation; on the other hand, government
are determined to act more vigorously than
ever."

"It is a wonderful instance of the goodness of
God, that we have any societies left in America.
I do not advise you to leave it till you have a
clear providential call. Be strong in the Lord,
and in the power of his might."

"I am,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"J. WESLEY."

"N. B. Any Person may see the Original, by
applying next door to the METHODIST
PREACHING HOUSE, in John Street."

Against this testimony, thus sustained, *The
Methodist* says:

"An Englishman, preaching in New York, did
defend him in the *Royal Gazette*, of New York,
against a charge of "blowing up the flame" of
a London mob in 1780, and of thereby showing
disloyalty to his king; and Mr. Dawson cites
this defence to show that Wesley and the New-
York Methodists were opposed to the Ameri-
can movement!" without saying, as it would
have done had it been conducted by honest lay-
men, that that "Englishman" was Mr. Wesley's
correspondent and accredited preacher, then in
charge of the Methodist Society in John Street;
that this letter was published by the Tory prin-
ter, in the *Royal Gazette*, at the request of "the
Society of people commonly called Methodists
in New York;" and that the avowed object of
that "people" in thus publishing it, as under-
stood and stated by the printer of it, was "to ef-
face all suspicion of the Reverend Mr. Wesley's
attachment to the King and Constitution"—that
is to say, to eradicate all ideas of his sympathy
with "the Colonists."

But *The Methodist* continued its answer in this
style:—"Now, every student of English history
knows that this London mob—the famous Lord
Gordon Riot—was an anti-Catholic outbreak,
and had nothing whatever to do directly with
the Colonial question. Mr. Dawson gives no
intimation of this fact whatever; and because
Wesley and his friends vindicated his loyalty

in his country's hours by declaring that he and
his people did not "blow up this flame" in
London, Wesley and his people, even his Ameri-
can people, are accused of hostility to the
American cause! This is certainly a new sort
of syllogism!"

No one knows better than Doctor Stevens and
The Methodist, that the riots referred to HAD
something to do, *indirectly*, with the Colonial
question, in so far as they indicated an oppo-
sition to the existing Government; and no one
better than our opponents knows that those
riots were thus considered in America, since
the Society of people commonly called Meth-
odists in New York declared that to be its
understanding of their passport, when it pub-
lished the article in question, for the express pur-
pose of "effacing all suspicion of Mr. Wesley,"
on that subject.

The Methodist knows, also, that *THE HISTORI-
CAL MAGAZINE* concealed nothing which related to
this subject; that it published, *verbatim et literatim*,
ALL that "the Society" itself considered
necessary for the vindication of Mr. Wesley from
an implied charge of disaffection to the King and
Government; and that when, in its third article,
The Methodist insinuated the contrary, it insinuated
a falsehood which it had not sufficient courage
to declare openly.

The Methodist then continued:—"The New-
York English preachers did at this same time
publish in the *Royal Gazette* of the city a let-
ter of Wesley's not being at all on the ques-
tion of the London mob, but evidently written
at an early period, showing Wesley's fidelity
to the Government, and reflecting unfavorably
on the American question. The design of this
publication at this time was evidently to prove
that Wesley, being loyal to his country, could
not have incited the London mob. But the
letter is without date: it only proves Wesley's
opinion at a former and indefinite time. We
doubt not that it expresses what was Wesley's
opinion, throughout the war, of the duty of
submission to the administration of his Gov-
ernment, and what was originally his opinion
of the American revolt. But he changed his
opinion on the latter question, as we shall pro-
ceed to demonstrate."

"The New York English preachers, thus re-
ferred to by our opponent, were the preachers
in charge of "the Society of people called Meth-
odists in New York," and were acting for that
Society? why, then, did not *The Methodist*
state that fact to its readers or publish the pub-
lication itself, in order that they might read it for
themselves?

"It is very true that Mr. Wesley's letter, thus
published by the John Street "Society," in 1780,
was probably "written at an early period"; that

"it showed Wesley's fidelity to his Government—and referred unambiguously to the American question; that "it is without date"; that "it" had "no bearing on the question of the London mob"; and that "it only proved his opinion at a former and indefinite time"; but it is, so true, and *The Methodist* knew it was not telling the truth when it made the statement, that "the design of its publication was evidently to prove that Wesley, being loyal in his country, could not have incited the London Mob."

The object of the publication, as expressed on its face, was "TO REPEAL ALL SCORPION OF THE REVEREND MR. WESLEY'S WANT OF FAITHFUL ATTACHMENT TO THE KING AND CONSTITUTION," in contrast with the opposite sentiment which was then prevailing in America and which had already lost, in all intent and purposes, thirteen of the richest gems belonging to the British Crown—and with this avowed purpose in those who published it, it matters nothing that it was not recently written, without date, and somewhat irrelevant, since the temper of both the writer and the publishers was equally expressed therein and perfectly patent to every one who read it; and the Tories of both Mr. Wesley and "the Society of people called Methodists in New York" was sufficiently established by this ready-made material, notwithstanding it had been prepared for another purpose, and was only awkwardly adapted to this.

But, if there was any reason to doubt the purpose or the success of the first, there was a second publication in *The Royal Gazette*, in February, 1781, by the same "Society of people called Methodists in New York," at the expense of the John Street Society itself, as can be ascertained from its books, in which Mr. Wesley himself, and Mr. Boardman, lately the preacher in John Street, bore direct testimony concerning the political opinions of the former, and his "writings," "conversations, and preachings," in violation of the Home Government, from the beginning of the War until the fall of 1780, when the fate of the United States was no longer a matter of doubt. With a purpose, however, which was undoubtedly the opposite of that of its predecessors, *The Methodist* did not publish nor even refer to this latter testimony, in any of its articles; and although by its reticence it sheltered Mr. Wesley from immediate condemnation on his own testimony and itself from the shame, before its own readers, to which its deliberate falsehood had subjected it, we propose to lift the veil and expose in all their naked deformity the *pietistic* Republicanism of Mr. Wesley, "the slander" of Methodism, and the *perverse* Christianity of *The Methodist*, which is its modern, New York exponent. The record reads thus:

[From *The Royal Gazette*, 400, New-York, Saturday, February 24, 1781.]

Mr. RIVINGTON

SIR,

WE send you a copy of a few lines from the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, in answer to a letter published the latter end of August last, accusing him with being an abettor of the rioters in London, together with a copy of a letter from Mr. Richard Boardman, to his correspondent in this city. Your inserting the whole in your next Gazette, will greatly oblige the Society of people called Methodists in New-York.

[MR. WESLEY TO MR. RIVINGTON.]

London, October 25, 1780.

Mr. Rivington,

I HAVE advice from New-York, that a letter from London has been published there, which, after mentioning the riots occasioned by Lord George Gordon, asserts "It is the Dissenters and Methodists who are secretly blowing up the flame." I answer for myself, but I will answer for the Methodists—ALL OF THEM who are CONNECTED WITH ME, FEAR GOD AND HONOUR THE KING; and not one of them was any otherwise concerned in the late tumults than in doing all they possibly could to suppress them.

The latter writer goes further, the Dissenters and Wesley at the head of the Methodists are blowing up the flame." This poor wretch has shook hands both with truth and shame; but one Methodist had anything to do with the riot, and as far as I was then near three hundred miles off, namely at New-castle upon Tyne.

I am, Sir

Your humble Servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

[MR. BOARDMAN TO HIS FRIEND IN NEW-YORK.]

London, October 27, 1780.

My good Friend,

WHAT will not prejudice do, or say? NO MAN IN ENGLAND HAS MORE STEADILY AND ZEALOUSLY VINDICATED GOVERNMENT, BY WRITINGS, CONVERSATION AND PREACHING, THAN MR. WESLEY HAS DONE, TO THE SOLEMN NOTIFICATION OF THE DISAFFECTION OF ALL PARTIES; this is well known through those Kingdoms, so that whether the piece published in the New-York Gazette, was fab-

"The old book" of accounts of "the Society of people called Methodists in New-York," shows that on the first of March 1781, there was "Paid Mr. Rivington for advertising: Mr. Wesley's letter, &c. 22 10s. 0d."

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"reiterated on this, or your side of the water,
"matters not; it is false and scandalous.

"Wishing you peace and truth, I am,

"Yours affectionately,

"RICHARD BOARDMAN."

Without occupying space with additional testimony, or with speculations of our own on the value of what we have related, or might have added concerning Mr. Wesley's Torison, even at the close of the War, we may be permitted to quote, on that subject, what has been said by Rev. J. B. Wakeley, the well-known modern Methodist historian, who boldly and truly says, in his *Last Chapters recovered from the History of American Methodism*:—"The Methodists were considered not as Dissenters, but part and parcel of the Church of England, using the Prayer Book and communicating at St. Paul's Episcopal Church."—"The founder of the Methodist, Mr. Wesley, was known to be a great Legalist, and strongly opposed the contrary pur-
"sued by the Americans, having written a *Calvin's Address to the American Colonies*. This was the case also with Mr. Fletcher."

This testimony was before *The Methodist*, both when it charged the Editor of *The Historical Magazine*, by name, with "completely lying on the subject," and when it undertook to convince its own readers that Mr. Wesley was a friend to the American cause, who had been slandered by "Mr. Dawson's" misconduct; yet it boldly concealed it from his readers, and as boldly assumed that it did not exist. We are free to say, therefore, concerning this flagrant suppression of the Truth by our religious opponent, that if its Works are to be taken as a fair criterion of the character of its Faith, and that of its brethren, we have no desire to become either a Methodist or the neighbor of one.

We come now to our next avowment:

III. "The evidence of the political sentiments of the early Methodists, in England, is not more conclusive of their Torison than is that of the evidence that their brethren in America had little sympathy for the popular cause, in their own country."

To sustain this proposition, we stated, what we now repeat, that a few days after the commencement of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, their Conference declared for "Peace," notwithstanding their uncontrition, everywhere, were hurrying to the field; and on the nineteenth

of July,—a month after the action on Bunker's Hill—a General Fast was observed "for the Peace of America." (*Minutes of Conference, 1775*). They were emphatically the "PEACE-MEN" of their generation.

Again: Their meeting-house in John street, New York, was respected by the British army and their preacher was permitted to continue at his post, as no other meeting-house was respected and no other preacher undisturbed, during the occupation of the city by the Royal forces, except those whose fidelity to the Royal cause was unquestionable and unquestioned. (WAKELEY'S *Last Chapters*, 261-263, 267-273. WATSON'S *Annals*, 326.)

The Methodists of Baltimore, also, "almost to a man," were "essentially to our cause under the mask of religion," and the following letter, from one of the leaders of "The Sons of Liberty," in that town, will further illustrate the subject:

[From the Schuyler Manuscripts, in the possession of the family.]

"BALTIMORE, 4th May 1777.

"Dear Sir:—I have seen a person in this place within a few days past, whom Mr. Hillegas & I from several circumstances suspect to be a spy; and could not but conceive it my duty to acquaint you as a member of Congress of our apprehensions, that he may be at least prevented from going to New York, which I understand is his intention. The person I mean is Capt. Webb the Methodist preacher, & as I am informed a half-pay officer in the British service. He came to this place last Tuesday or Wednesday, & in his sermon to his followers hinted as much as that it was the last time they should see him. I have since heard that he intends going to New York to embark for England. The character under which he travels affords him the very best opportunities of making observations, which it can't be doubted he will communicate if permitted to go to New York. IT IS A CERTAIN TRUTH THAT ALL THE PERSONATION CALLED METHODISTS ALMOST TO A MAN (with us) ARE ENEMIES TO OUR CAUSE UNDER THE MASK OF RELIGION, AND ARE CONTRIVANCES AT THE TORIES. One of their preachers did lately in this place tell his hearers that every man killed in battle would certainly go to hell. Can the worst avowed Tories propagate a more dangerous doctrine to weak minds.

"Mr. Webb was attended here by a young man named Carey who appears to be a great devotee, and of whom Mr. Hillegas & I have lately observed some things that give great reason to suspect he is a travelling emissary of the enemies, & increases our suspicions against "Mr. Webb. This Carey about 2 or three weeks

"Mr. Boardman had been the "Preacher" in John street for several years, but was then in England.

"He came to America, in company with Mr. Plummer, in 1769, preached a short time in Philadelphia, and thence removed to New York. He remained there until 1773, except during occasional tours of duty in New England, &c.; and in the early days of the Revolution, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Plummer. (WAKELEY'S *Last Chapters*, 171-172.)

"ago was taken up on Elk Ridge as a suspected person, & he got clear by saying that he was in the employment of Mr. Hillegas the Continental Treasurer. This person is constantly travelling to and fro betwixt this, Philad., & the Jersey under the character of a horse-jockey, an excellent cloak for an emissary. The evening before Mr. Webb left town, Mr. Hillegas & I observed this Carey with a person, who appeared as a rider go into the house of a Tory near Mr. Grants, & after staying there some time the rider was despatched in a great hurry. I immediately after got three young gentlemen to pursue him on horseback, but it being late in the evening they missed getting him. Upon enquiry at Mr. Grant I find that Carey keeps a spare horse constantly at his stable & that he seems to have plenty of money, although he has no visible means that he knows of to get money but what I have mentioned and appears as a gentleman. Carey has been out of town since Thursday, although he told Mr. Grant that he was only going a little way out of town. I therefore suspect he is gone to Philad. If Mr. McCary who lodges at my house & who is now at Philad., should not be left it before you receive this, you may possibly find him at my brother's house in Philad., & I suspect that he knows Carey & can give you a description of him. You may depend on it that Mr. Hillegas & I shall take all the pains in our power to investigate this matter. For that some inimical plan is carrying on I am well convinced. I am

"with much respect Sir,
 "Your most hble. Servt.
 "SAM'L. PURVIANCE Junr."

Finally, at the close of the war, when the Tories sought safety in exile, Rev. John Man and probably Rev. Samuel Spragg, of the John street "preaching-house," and a large number of the members of that Society, removed to Nova Scotia, where, subsequently, Rev. Freeborn Garretson—son-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, and a New York Methodist refugee—became the Presiding Elder. (SABINE'S *History of the Loyalists*, i., 463, 464; ii., 45; WAKELEY'S *Last Chapters*, 262-266, 293, 296, 297.)

Against this testimony, which may be fairly considered as "undoubted," concerning the infidelity to their Country of the early Methodists in New York and Baltimore, *The Methodist* staggers while it admits its entire truth, in its unqualified admission that they really declined to enter the "Association" in which every patriotic American was cheerfully engaged, and declined to be bound by those engagements which every lover of his country voluntarily assumed—it even admits that "they could not

"conscientiously take some of the Colonial test-oaths," which were administered only to the extremely disaffected; and it tells us, also, that some of them suffered the extreme penalty of their ultra Toryism, in their early exile from America. All this is told with the utmost frankness; and that admission will not be considered less important when it shall be received, as it will be by every intelligent reader, as an unqualified plea of "Guilty," by *The Methodist*, to the charges which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has brought against the early American Methodists, of Loyalty to their King and disaffection to their Country, when the former was a Tyrant and the latter in Revolution.

In extenuation of the offense, if it was one, of which the early Methodists were guilty, as admitted by *The Methodist*, our opponent curiously endeavors to qualify if not belittle it, by pretensions, *unfounded in fact*, of their subsequent good behavior. He does it, in this wise:

First: "They were the first ecclesiastical men of the country to acknowledge, *officially*, the new Government, and to affirm the obligation of Loyalty to it." *The Methodist* says; but if that exponent of Methodism knows anything on the subject, or one-half as much as it pretends, it knows that there is no evidence, beyond the naked word, which is not quite "conclusive," of any such "official" action by the only "official" organization of Methodists in America, which existed during the entire War, and until some years after—in 1776, it merely declared for "Peace," while all patriotic America was flying to arms; in 1776, it was perfectly silent on public affairs; in 1777, it refused to take or to sanction any step that might separate the Preachers from their stay-at-home brethren, notwithstanding "the present distress," with the enemy in the seat of the Congress, called every man into the field; in 1778, it was silent on public affairs; in 1779, it reiterated its fidelity to the Church of England, with its Prayers for the King and the success of his Armies and Fleets, etc.; in 1780, it renewed its declaration of fidelity to the Church of England; in 1781, political affairs were not alluded to; in 1782, it reiterated, *unanimously*, its obedience to Mr. Wesley's mandates, of whom, a few months before, it had been said, "officially," "No man in England has more steadily and zealously vindicated Government" [*in living without representation, in hiring Hessian soldiers, in arming Indians with rifles and scapular-knives, etc.*] by writings, conversation, and preaching, "than Mr. Wesley has done, to the no small mortification of the disaffected of all parties." In 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, and 1792, it was silent on public affairs, and we need go no further to prove the entire groundlessness, in fact, of every portion of *The*

Methodist's pretensions, and its entire disingenuousness in making them. We speak from the testimony on the subject of the *Minutes of the General Conference*, which will be recognized by every one as both "official" and "conclusive."

In fact, whether in 1775, when the Congress assembled, or in 1776, when it declared the independence of the several Colonies, or in 1781, when the *Articles of Confederation* were adopted, or in 1783, when the King acknowledged the independence of the several States, or in 1787, when the Convention formed the new Constitution, or in 1789, when "the new system" became operative, the Methodists took no "official" notice of public affairs, preferring, more wisely than our opponent, to keep their mouths closed when they could not safely open them.

STASIS. It excuses Captain Webb, whom it does not admit to have been a Tory, although he was an officer in His Majesty's service; and it appeals to papers in possession of the Scholer family, of which it knows nothing whatever except what it has read in *The History of Maryland*; and it finds in those papers, it says, or insinuates, a record of the notoriety in Baltimore of Webb's movements, of Carey's discharge from imprisonment in Philadelphia, of Webb's undisturbed and open return to New York from Baltimore, etc., although there is no such testimony among them.

TARIFF. It tells us of certain "other preachers" than Mr. Ashby, whom it pretends, without reason, were patriots and enemies of the King. Ullevant, Bollaig, McCossock, and Jacob Carter are among those "other preachers" whom it thus parades as "patriotic," while they were also, it admits, living in defiance of the Association—it does not say, however, that there were no such men among the Methodist "preachers" during the period referred to, nor for many years after its close, as the official lists will show. It tells of Jesse Lea "consenting to go into camp" as a "Preacher" and wagon-driver, but not as a "fighter"; although he was not "received on trial" as a Preacher until the sixth of May, 1783, several months after the Treaty of Peace had been signed, when he was sent to Caswell, instead of "into camp," and that he was not "admitted into full connection" until January, 1785—more than three years after the suspension of hostilities. It tells, also, as among the "other preachers" during the War, of "Bishop" McKendree, of whom we find no record whatever during that period nor for many years after—William McKendree, if that was the person referred to, was not "admitted on trial" until 1788—some time after Cornwallis's capture, where, as "Bishop," he seems to have figured in *The Methodist's* imagination—and not until 1790 was

he "admitted into full connection." Thomas Hare, another of *The Methodist's* "other preachers" in backward, was not on the records during the War, nor for a dozen years subsequent—if Thomas Ware was meant, our opponent was equally unfortunate, since he, also, was not "admitted on trial" until 1783, and "into full connection" until 1786. Lastly Mathewry, the last of its six party, was no more a preacher at the period referred to than were those whom we have already discussed—he was not "admitted on trial" until 1786, and "into full connection" until 1788, as our opponent may know if it will examine the records as closely as we have done.

The Methodist owes it to its own readers as well as to the world at large, to explain its purpose in thus attempting to impose upon them and us by such a wholesale manufacture of spurious "History," as that which is here exposed, in order that it may fill an awkward crevice existing in the annals of early Methodism. At any rate, it should warn that those who desire to tell falsehoods should refresh their memories before embarking in such an enterprise; and it should not forget that there are some persons who do not read *The History of Methodism* through Doctor Stevens's spectacles, nor any where else than in "official" contemporary authorities.

FORGIVEN. It tells of the "loyalty" of the Methodists in New York—it says "the little society came out of the War quite generally 'loyal'";—but, very shrewdly, it does not say in whom they were "loyal," the King or the State.

In 1773, there were two hundred and twenty-two Methodists in New York, two hundred and four in Philadelphia, two hundred and fifty-seven in New Jersey, two hundred and eighteen in Brunswick, N. C., etc. Within a year, in 1775, New York lost twenty-two, and Philadelphia fourteen, while in the country places, where the Sons of Liberty were not so perfectly organized nor so vigilant, they everywhere gained—Brunswick, for instance, increasing four-fold. A year later (1776), New York had lost another sixty-eight, Philadelphia fifty-three, and New Jersey one-half its membership, while Brunswick had again doubled its membership. Still later, in 1777, New York had lost another thirty-six, and Philadelphia forty-one, leaving only sixty-six in each place—*The Methodist* tells us, however, that those who fell off were "in sympathy with the Home Government," and were casted, which acknowledgment strikes us as an exceedingly awkward one, under the circumstances.

TURN. It says "it is utterly false" that the John street "preaching-house" was secured to its owners because of their Toryism, as charged by *The Historical Magazine*; yet it turns

around on the next line and stamps the genuineness on its own check by admitting the truth of the Magazine's avowment—"Doubtless, the well-known early avowment of Wesley on 'the Colonial question find some influence in their favor,' are its words—and we disclaim it to itself, since it will need no worse recommender.

SIXTH. It says—"In the *Illustrated Chaplain* "was given in the Hessian troops and their chaplain, who used it on Sundays;" and it cites Stevens's *History* as its authority. But the contemporary authorities and the earliest history of Methodism published in America would have taught it, and its confessions would have learned from such sources, that the Hessians worshipped in the *Lutheran* churches of the place, not in the Methodist; and that the "ladolger" who in the latter enjoyed at the hands of the King's officers was sent from regard for the convenience of the Hessians, than as Doctor Stevens strangely expresses it, in view of *The Methodist's* earnest denial; "But as respect to Wesley's opinions concerning the sanctity of the King and the justice of his demands on America."

SEVENTH. It refers to Mr. Savage, in extenuation of his Toryism, as "one of the English Preachers sent over by Wesley;" as if he was any less a Methodist in that account—and he tells, all for the same purpose, that "at the breaking out of the War he retired from the work to New York, on his way to England," and "he saved time preaching for the Methodists," and afterward became a Presbyter, Episcopalian, and a pastor in Elizabethtown, N. J., as if that helped the matter. He was a *Methodist* Episcopalian, and to America he Wesley, and when the troubles broke out in the Colonies, he was so much of a Tory and thought so much more of George III. and his cause than of Christ and his cause, that he "retired from the work," and sought safety under the gun of Baytown. There he found in New York, and there he stayed until, once more, in 1783, he was driven still farther into Nova Scotia, the Tories' refuge—and if he subsequently returned to Elizabeth Town, to the Tory congregation of T. B. Chandler, another exile for a similar cause, that returns afford no more evidence of his patriotism during the War, than did the return from a similar exile, about the same time, of Samuel Seabury, and Peter Van Schaick, and other notorious Loyalists of that period.

EIGHTH. It refers to Mr. Mann, in extenuation, as "an English Laxman," as "not a travelling or regular preacher," as "never on the Minutes," as "not ordained even as a local Preacher," etc., as if he was any the less a Methodist, or any the less a Methodist Preacher for all that. Of course he was "a layman," but

which of the Methodist Preachers of his day was anything else than "a layman"? Of course he was "not a travelling preacher," since he was too much of a Tory to leave the shelter of the Royal armies. If he was not "a regular preacher," why was he not ordained as a *local preacher*? Of course he was not on the American Minutes, since he was not within the American lines, but those of the enemy. He certainly was not ordained, as *The Methodist* says, but so also was even Mr. Astory "not ordained," and not entitled to administer an ordinance until long after the close of the War, when Mr. Mann was in exile because of his once ready course as an *apostate* sympathizer with the Royal cause.

NINTH. It says the avowment of Freedom Garrison's Toryism is "a notorious fiction," yet it gravely informs, within two lines, and tells, successively, of its ignorance of his political opinion, and of its knowledge that he refused to identify himself with the friends of America—its words are: "We are not prepared to say what were the personal opinions of Garrison respecting the War," and "he was unworthy-like most of his *Oppositionalists*," "antislavery brethren," "these colored ones," which were tender souls, of those who he persecuted, it was more than justifiable and wise practices had rendered them necessary to the people and the local insurgent minorities. *Woe for Methodists* shall have discerned in which of the two great parties it will align. Mr. Garrison, we will follow if more closely, meanwhile we commend to its prayerful consideration the high, grand old school of that gentleman which is to be found in Mr. Lorenzo Sabine's universally respected *History of the Abolition Movement*; while we would also respectfully suggest in the same connection, that he has it shall give no more of his marriage into the laying too faintly, the better it will be for its cause.

TENTH. It tells, also, evidently as a hint to withdraw attention from the real question—how honestly will be apparent to every one—that "the early Methodists," during "the American Revolution" were honest sympathizers with the popular cause, because "the organization of *The M. E. Church*," it was the first to formally recognize the new American Government in one of its organs, *Articles of Religion*, although it knew when it made this plea that "the M. E. Church" was not organized until January, 1789, more than three years after the success of the insurgents was conceded by the Home Government, and two years after the Treaty was signed which officially recognized their independence; and it knew, also, that in the "organical article" referred to by it, *Article XXIII*, "the M. E. Church" had said no more in Janu-

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any, 1783, than George III. had already said, in January, 1783, in the Treaty of Peace. As well, therefore, might *The Methodist*, by similar reasoning, claim that the King had also been a Patriotic sympathizer with the insurgents, since he, also, like the Methodists, had "recognized" the Congress, the General Assemblies, the Governors, and the Councils of State, in the *Delegates of the People*, as the *Legislature of the United States*, or *American*, and the States as not properly "subject to any Foreign Jurisdiction," but who will not see, that the mere admission of an unpleasant fact, either by the King or the Methodists, could go for a very short distance in proving the sympathy of either of them with the causes which had produced it, and that *The Methodist*, in grasping at such a straw, too clearly indicates its own consciousness of the extreme danger in which it has found itself.

The same may be said, also, of "the Personal Address" which *The Methodist* very quaintly says was presented in Washington by the Bishops in behalf of "the Conference," notwithstanding its "personal" character divested it of every appearance of an official character, and the Minutes of the Conference itself clearly indicate that no such Address was either adopted, or authorized, or sanctioned, or considered, or even alluded to in that body.

The same may be said, also, of the pretense that the *Articles of Confederation* were "super-added" by the *Constitution*, since the latter is only an amendment of the former, which remains in full force to this day, in every feature which was not thus amended; and it may be said at the injunction of Loyalty to "the Government," which the Methodist Conference is said to have imposed on its members, although it had ceased to be the subject of a King and resided in a Republic, where "the Government" was the servant of the People, not the *Sovereign*, that its extreme Toryism could not have found any more explicit and sympathizing testimony.

We believe that we have now met every issue that has been presented by *The Methodist*, and disproved every count of its indictment against us for alleged "complete lying," concerning the Toryism of the Early Methodists during the American Revolution, and we trust we shall be understood beyond a doubt, while closing our remarks, when we say, as we do say, distinctly, that we have never examined any subject, nor been engaged in any discussion, wherein there has been so complete and unblushing a disregard of the Truth, of the merits of the subject discussed, and of the courtesy which is due to an opponent who has produced authentic testimony to sustain his plea, as has been displayed by *The Methodist*, in the case which is now before us. H. B. D.
Morristown, N. Y., May, 1867.

IV.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.

47.—JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE to CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

DEAR SIR,

I send you the last Enquirer—I have not read it & will be inclined to do so for some days at least I am worn down by disease & labor—I ride indeed, but it is as poor Robert Comstock used to do with Deale upon the crupper—(Poor Equus! Sider atre Casu!)

I thank you because I have not done as I wished I have not been to see you of late—

Most respectfully & faithfully

Yours J. R. of ROANOKE

Tuesday, last of Feb.

TO MR. CHIEF JUSTICE.

[ON THIS LETTER IS INSCRIBED in pencil, IN HAND OF MR. MARSHALL.]

No. 7, in the last paper sent is I think rather flat.

48.—DAVID HOWELL, SENATOR FROM RHODE ISLAND, to THE SOLIMAN BROWNE.

PHILADELPHIA, 30th October 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 17th Oct. came safe to hand & is now before me.

I feel the loss which the public must sustain in the Death of the late Governor Cooke. His political character will shine among the first Worthies in our State. His singular merit consisted in his stepping forward in the Service of the public at the call of his Country at a very critical time—He was a friend to his Country in time of need.

The Sentiments you express in regard to a late production are flattering—I has the evident marks of honesty upon it; the writer must have had one foot in the Stirrup, as we say, but the Sentiments are good & such as, I hope, will prevail.

For many particulars in regard to impost, bribery, kickbacks, &c. I must beg leave to refer you to my late Letter to His Excellency the Governor—As the Gen^l Assembly will sit in Providence you will have an opportunity of pursuing all the public papers.

Congress have called on our State to give a definite answer in regard to the impost. I suppose it will be done at the present Session. I hope every friend to his Country will exert himself on this important occasion.

From the Collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

Communicated by H. T. Browne Esq., of New York.

1.

[From *The Methodist* of August 17.]

Some time ago we answered, in these columns, the attack of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* on the loyalty of the early Methodists to the American Revolution. Its editor has published our reply, on condition that we allow him an equal space to respond to it in our pages, and we have now given in installments his rejoinder. In commenting upon it, we shall be as brief as possible; if our readers will recall our former arguments, they will save us the necessity of much repetition. While we shall repeat them far enough to meet the new forms of statement made by *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, we must refer to our first papers for fuller facts. The editor of the *Magazine* gives us great advantage in his evident loss of temper and attempts at severe language, but as historical truth alone is concerned in the question, we shall not waste our space in retaliating his small sarcasms.

He first accuses us of "concealing the fact that the article in question (the one in his periodical, which we reviewed), was one of a series of articles on the early history of Methodism, which had appeared in the *Magazine*, month after month, and insinuated that it was merely a special article, written for a special occasion." Now, we affirm that this is the first time we have heard of any preceding articles. We know nothing of the editor's former discussions, and after what we have read from him, we do not now care to expend time in reading them. The one which we answered was specific; it presented a particular topic, and argued it at great length, without an allusion to any that had gone before. The latter are obnoxious to the charge we brought against this, for they were written during the Centenary year.

"So, also, when *The Methodist* spoke of the 'decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of opinion in favor of the Colonists,' and told the world that we 'must have read' it in Dr. Stevens' *History of Methodism*, although it knew THERE WAS NO SUCH EVIDENCE THERE, it supposed, we have no doubt, that it was acting as 'became a Methodist journal.'

Now, here is a point-blank denial that there is "any such evidence of Wesley's early change of opinion in favor of the Colonists." Now, a curious fact about this denial is, that in the very article that the editor is thus answering, we presented, in Wesley's own words, the proof of that "change of opinion in favor of the Colonists." And yet, the editor persistently repeats his denial, and defies the *The Methodist* to show any such proof. What can be done with such a controversialist? We said, too, that the editor, in his charge against Wesley, accused Methodist historians of unvarnished accounts of Wesley's opinions

on the subject, "referring particularly to Stevens' *History of Methodism*, vol. II., pp. 120, 130," and that he must have been aware of Wesley's change of opinion, because Stevens gives Wesley's own words on the subject in the very place referred to, while acknowledging that at an earlier period he had imprudently published his "address" to the colonies against the Revolution. Wesley's own words are so important on this point, that we repeat them here again, and again affirm that they are there, where the editor says they are not. Here is the passage in the *History of Methodism*, as above:

"It is due to the memory of Wesley to say that he, meantime, wrote a letter to the Premier, Lord North, and to the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth, remonstrating against the war, and pleading for the Americans. He declares in it that, in spite of all his long-rooted prejudices as a Churchman and a loyalist, he cannot avoid thinking, if he think at all, that these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow. But waiving this, waiving all considerations of right and wrong, I ask, he adds, with prophetic foresight, 'Is it common-sense to use force toward the Americans? My lord, whatever has been affirmed, these men will not be frightened; and it seems they will not be conquered so easily as was at first imagined. They will probably dispute every inch of the ground, and, if they die, die sword in hand. Indeed, some of our valiant officers say, 'Two thousand men will clear America of these rebels.' No, nor twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, nor perhaps treble that number. They are as strong men as you; they are as valiant as you, if not abundantly more valiant, for they are, one and all, enthusiasts—enthusiasts for liberty. They are calm, deliberate enthusiasts; and we know how this principle breathes into softer souls stern love of war, and thirst of vengeance, and contempt of death. We know men, animated with this spirit, will leap into a fire, or rush into a cannon's mouth.' The letter is long, and full of sagacious views and statesmanlike counsels."

This important letter has, within a few years been given to the public, from the manuscripts of Lord Dartmouth's family. The American historian, Mr. Bancroft, deemed it of so much importance that, when it appeared, he cancelled several stereotype plates of his seventh volume, that he might insert quotations from it, correcting some of his earlier intimations of Wesley's opinions. It settles the question between us and *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, so far as a change in Wesley's

opinion of the colonial controversy is concerned.

In his former article, the editor accused Wesley of "coldly absolving the American Methodists (after the Revolution) from their obligations to the English Church, authorizing them to organize an independent church, without a single supplication of Divine favor in their behalf; he had not even a natural wish for their success, nor a kind word of brotherly regard at the parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas in America, so distasteful the position of affairs in this country, to him and his friends!" All this we disprove, showing that Wesley was thoroughly cordial, and heartily energetic in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, declaring in his letter on the occasion: "We judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith (and has made them free) Now, while this *Historical Magazine* professes to be scrupulously devoted to the record and conservation of pure historical facts, its editor entirely ignores (in his reply) this important point; he makes no correction of his former statement about it, and does not even mention our refutation of his misrepresentation!"

This is all we see it necessary to say on our first instalment from the *Magazine*. On its remaining ones we shall hereafter comment.

II.

[From the *Methodist* of August 31.]

The second instalment of the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, on the loyalty of the early Methodists, is given in our number for July 27th. We must refer the reader to it, to save waste of space in quoting its allegations. This instalment, however, requires but little comment. All it avers, particularly all it cites, from the old Methodist Discipline, or Minutes, is substantially correct, and no Methodist will dissent to anything in the article except its inference from its citations, which is altogether false, historically and logically.

The substance of the article amounts to this: that anterior to the organization of the Church at the Christmas conference of 1784,* the preachers did not administer the sacraments, but these pious gentlemen received them at the English Church, and the preachers, in annual conferences, opposed any innovation on this arrangement, until Wesley could provide, "decently and in order," for these masses of grace by the hands of Methodist pastors. All this is very true, and it is an honorable evidence of the good sense and orderly disposition of the primitive societies. "Forylen," to which the *Magazine* ascribes it, had nothing to do with it,

and never entered into the policy of the societies on the subject. There is not an allusion of the kind in any of the contemporary documents, official or unofficial. It was an accidental state of things which had grown up from long antecedent circumstances; and having no motive whatever connected with the Colonial Revolution, was corrected as soon as the Revolution allowed of such communication with Wesley as could admit of the correction.

Before the Revolution, American Methodism was essentially a part of the British Methodist movement, and, like the latter, was under the control of Wesley. He had not ordained preachers in England, but his people there received the sacraments in the National Church, at least such of them as had been connected with the National Church did so, and such as had been Dissenters went to their former chapels for these ordinances. Of course the same policy extended to the British Colonies. Wesley did not wish to complicate himself with the existing ecclesiastical authorities by any obdurate or unnecessary measures. But every Methodist who knows the history of his Church knows what the *Magazine* editor seems not to be aware of, that these very citations he makes from the old Minutes had reference to a disposition prevalent in certain quarters, to provide themselves with the sacraments without ordination; a policy that was deemed by the preachers, and is still deemed by most religious bodies, disorderly. The Conference proposed to postpone the question, and receive the sacraments elsewhere, till the return of peace, when Wesley could be appealed to, and ordination prevailed; and this was effectively done by Wesley himself uniting men for America. As the colonies were British, and of the early Methodists had been in the British Church, of course they usually resorted to that Church in the colonies for the sacraments, but such of them as had been Dissenters were not required to do so; they went for these ordinances where they pleased, and suffered no penalties for so doing.

These are the historical facts. But from these very simple, natural, and harmless, not to say very commendable facts, the *Magazine* draws the following sweeping inference:

"We have a right, in view of its silence on the subject, to consider *The Methodist* as endorsing the truth of the avowment, thus sustained, that every Methodist of that period was necessarily an Episcopalian, and necessarily a daily supplicant for a bestowal of the Divine favor on George III., his Parliaments, his Armies, and his Fleets, as were Drs. Seshary and Inglis, Chandler and Wilkins, and all other Episcopals of the period; and we have a right also, in view of the same silence, to treat our oppo-

* The *Magazine* says 1783; it has been told him this error, however, by an error in the title of the old Minutes, which places the Conference in that year; it surely overscoped the year; the organization was in 1784.

"went as conceding the claim, thus sustained, that it was not until the Conference of January, 1785, that George III. ceased, in law, to be the supreme head, in ecclesiastical affairs, of every Methodist 'Society' in America; and that, until that time, the Canons, and Liturgy, and Common Prayer promulgated by his authority were their supreme law."

All this is sheer sophistry. The Methodists did not so pray for the King and his armies and fleets. Very few, if any of them, knew anything or cared anything about the "Canons," etc., of "the Church." They had not the sacraments in their own humble meetings, most of which were in private houses or barns. They went for them occasionally to other churches, but had no other relations whatever to the latter: these had no jurisdiction over them, and had nothing to do with them, save to persecute them. Moreover, during most of the time to which the *Magazine's* citations refer, there was no such praying for the King, and his army and fleet, in the English churches of the colonies. That would not have been tolerated by the colonial authorities during the Revolution.

This is a fair showing of the facts of the case, as every student of Methodist history knows. Quite a schism was threatened in the Virginia Methodist Societies, in favor of providing the sacraments for their families; but they were induced to accept them from the Established Church of the colony, till Wesley could be consulted. The citations of the *Magazine* all have reference to these local facts. The forbearance of the Methodists had nothing to do with the Tyranny of the Established Church; they had no thought of the kind: their forbearance was simply owing to their deference to the usage of all Christian denominations, a regard for established Church order. It was conditioned expressly on a pledge of the preachers, that Wesley should be appealed to when the war might admit of it, to provide for them. At the end of the war, the appeal was made to Wesley, and he forthwith ordained a Bishop (Dr. Coke) to ordain their preachers, and had them organized as a Church. They were thus constitutionally established even before the colonies had adopted their own Constitution.

N. B.—We shall refer to the other portions of the *Magazine's* article hereafter. We should remind our readers, however, that we have published, not the whole of the article, but only a certain stipulated portion of it. For the rest, we must refer to the *Magazine* itself.

III.

[From the *Methodist* of September 14.]

In our reply to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we have already reminded our readers that it but re-

peats, though with increased emphasis, the statements and arguments which we reviewed and disapproved in some former papers. We must again refer to the latter for any fuller refutation of its charges. It would be an imposition on the reader to recite the statements there answered, and repeat their refutation in detail. Yet, this is all that would need to be done in order to meet completely the rebuts of the argument now given by the *Magazine*. The last three instalments from its pages, which we have inserted, and which remain for our notice, fill several columns; but, for the above reasons, we must review them rapidly, and here conclude the review. As a mere repetition, it is becoming tedious; we must treat it, therefore, with dispatch, though not with disrespect.

The third instalment from the *Magazine* (given in our number for August 3d) consists mostly of extracts from Wesley's famous *Calm Address to the Colonies*. They show that he was then decidedly opposed to the Revolutionary project. Of course they do. What else could be expected from a loyal Englishman, as he was at the time? But we have shown, from his letter to two of the cabinet ministers of George III., that after the events of Concord and Lexington, he changed his view of the contest, and declared that he was "convinced that then an oppressed people asked, 'nothing more than their legal rights, and that, in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow.'" These are his own words, authentically given from the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth—words which the historian, Bancroft, has taken special pains to give. Wesley proceeds to argue against the expediency of war on the part of Great Britain, and predicts the success of the Colonies.

Now, this important documentary evidence was under the eye of the editor of the *Magazine*, in the very book from which he quotes other things, and yet he continues to affirm:

"We say, plainly, that we never knew and do not now know that Mr. Wesley ever ceased to be loyal to the King of Great Britain, in the broadest sense of the term; and, that we never knew and do not know now that he ever entertained the least sympathy for the American Revolutionists or their cause, or ever, even by implication, vindicated the Colonial cause." We say, also, just as plainly, that neither Dr. Stevens nor *The Methodist*, nor both combined, ever knew or now know any such thing of Mr. Wesley; and that neither the historian of Methodism nor its exponents in newspaper form can produce any authentic testimony to establish such an avowal as *The Methodist* has thus put forth.

Now, we ask again, what can be done with a

contestant like this!—a man who is professionally devoted to the collection and conservation of historical materials, and who, after a document like Wesley's letter to the British Ministers, is placed directly under his nose, utterly ignores the evidence, and furiously drives on with his reckless assertions! He does not dare to deny the authenticity of the document—that would be preposterous; he does not even mention it, though it is again and again thrust into his face; he simply ignores it, as if it had not been adduced, and vociferously writes on in the above strain.

The fourth and last instalment (given in our number for August 1904), like all that precedes it, is a repetition of charges which we have already answered. It relates to a vindication of Wesley by a preacher of John-street Society, New York, against the charge of disloyalty to his King. Of course, Wesley lived and died a loyal man, and the fact is honorable to his memory. The Society in New York was entirely isolated from the General Church during the war; the Conference sent no preachers to it, received no returns from it, had in fact held no communication with it. Its pulpit was supplied by an unordained local preacher, an Englishman. When Wesley was accused, in a New York paper, of inciting the famous "Lord Gordon" riot in London (an anti-Catholic riot), and of thereby showing disloyalty to his King, the New York preacher published letters from him, proving his hearty loyalty. These facts the *Magazine* cites as proof of his hostility to the Colonial cause!—a very funny syllogism certainly. One of the letters given does, however, bear on the war, but it is without date, and is evidently an old one, which had been in possession of the New York preacher, or some other person at hand, and was hunted up for the occasion, as proof that this recent New York slander was incompatible with the antecedents of Wesley. Wesley's letter to the Government in favor of the Colonies qualifies it entirely. He was always loyal to his King, like a good Christian, but disapproved the royal policy toward the Colonies.

So much, then, for this extravagant attack on American Methodism. After the full review we have heretofore given the *Magazine*, we need add no more. No Christian body of this nation has more demonstratively proved its loyalty than the Methodist Episcopal Church; none less needs vindication.

X.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

61. GOVERNOR J. BELCHER, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO MR. SECT'Y WALDRON, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Em.

I am glad to find by your's of 27th inst., That the Gov^t can do even accidental Good to the Province. I wish they would mend their Ways as well as the Result; I long to see my Friends—have no Expectation from the Assembly, nor do I much concern myself about 'Em.

The Warrant is in this Day's Gazette—The Post-master at his Lady's lodge at Mad^{rs} Sister's, and I give him up for a gone Man.

I shall free the Young Man from his prodigious Unreason, and from Something else, if he does not learn more Sense.

I hope to see you at Haverhill on Friday next, and am always,

Your Friend & Servant

BOSTON.

SEPT. 30; 1733.

MR. SECT'Y WALDRON

J. BELCHER

62.—REV. J. H. LIVERSTON TO ———

NEW YORK 18 March 1784.

REVEREND & DEAR BROTHER

The affectionate and confidential Letter which you favored me with of the 18th Instant would have been answered immediately if I had not, when I received it, been very unwell & had the next day to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, signs which I have had no conveyance to drop for a time. I was disappointed in not having the pleasure of seeing again & called at your Lodgings a little while after you left them upon your return home. That Evening—when I parted with you, the Gov^t of the College met and a Bill for erecting a University in the State of New York was read to us. Many observations upon the Bill in the form it then bore were then made, and some alterations were strongly urged since which the Bill has remained and so many Acts of various kinds are constantly before the Legislature that this Bill has not yet been called for. The alterations insisted upon were not essential with respect to the Basis of the University but only the form in which the matter was managed. There is no opposition from any quarter which Occasions the least doubt but the Uni-

* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.

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Howell, George Coes
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